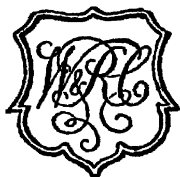


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**CHAMBERS'S EDUCATIONAL COURSE—EDITED
BY W. AND R. CHAMBERS.**

HISTORY
AND PRESENT STATE
OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE.



WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAMBERS,
LONDON AND EDINBURGH.
1855.

PREFACE.

THE present volume, designed for private instruction as well as for schools, is offered as a comprehensive outline of British History, such as may remain upon the mind of any intelligent person after having studied a larger work. It unites the History of the Three Kingdoms, because the Editors are convinced, that, by presenting their history separately, the natives of one of the countries are apt to remain in ignorance of the rest, and thereby to possess no means of counteracting those antipathies, or at least imperfect sympathies, which still prevail amongst the various nations combined under the British Empire, and lead to more important consequences, perhaps, than is generally supposed.

A novel, and, it is hoped, useful feature, has been added, in a view of the Institutions, the Commerce, Manufactures, and existing Resources, of the Empire.

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CONDITION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,**

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by PABLO PEÑER**

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HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.



CONQUEST BY THE ROMANS.

1. PREVIOUS to the year 55 before Christ, the British Islands, in common with the whole of northern and western Europe, were occupied by barbarous tribes, who bore nearly the same relation to the civilised nations of Greece and Italy, which the North American Indians of the present day bear to the inhabitants of Great Britain and the United States. The Romans, who for ages had been extending their power over their rude neighbours, had concluded the conquest of Gaul, now called France, when, in the year just mentioned, their celebrated commander, Julius Cæsar,

learning from the merchants of that country that there was another fertile land on the opposite side of the narrow sea now termed the British Channel, resolved to proceed thither, and subject it also to the Roman arms. Disembarking at the place since called Deal, he soon overawed the savage natives, though they were naturally warlike, and averse to a foreign yoke. He did not, however, gain a firm footing in Britain till the succeeding year (54 before Christ), when he employed no fewer than eight hundred vessels to convey his troops from Gaul. Except on the coasts, where some tillage prevailed, the British tribes lived exactly as the Indians now do, upon animals caught in hunting, and fruits which grew spontaneously. They stained and tattooed their bodies, and had no religion but a bloody idolatry called Druidism.

2. Little was done on this occasion to establish the Roman power in Britain; but about a century afterwards, namely, in the year of Christ 43, when the Emperor Claudius was reigning at Rome, another large army invaded the island, and reduced a considerable part of it. A British prince called Caradoc, or Caractacus, who had made a noble defence against their arms, was finally taken and sent prisoner to Rome, where he was regarded with the same wonder as we should bestow upon a North American chief who had greatly obstructed the progress of our settlements in that quarter of the world. In the year 61, an officer named Suetonius did much to reduce the Britons, by destroying the numerous Druidical temples in the Isle of Anglesea; religion having, in this case as in many others since, been a great support to the patriotic cause. He soon after overthrew the celebrated British princess Boadicea, who had raised an almost general insurrection against the Roman power.

3. In the year 79, Agricola, a still greater general, extended the influence of Rome to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which he formed into a frontier, by connecting them with a chain of forts. It was his policy, after he had subdued part of the country, to render it permanently attached to Rome, by introducing the pleasures and luxuries of the capital. He was the first to sail round the island. In the year 84, having gone beyond the Forth, he was opposed by

a great concourse of the rude inhabitants of the north, under a chief named by the Roman historians Galgacus, whom he completely overthrew at *Mons Grampius*, or the Grampian Mountain; a spot about which there are many disputes, but which was probably at Ardoch in Perthshire, where there are still magnificent remains of a Roman camp. Tacitus, a writer related to Agricola, gives a very impressive account of this great conflict, and exhibits the bravery of the native forces as very remarkable; but the correctness of his details cannot be much depended on.

4. It appears that Agricola, while on the west coast of Scotland, was desirous of making the conquest of Ireland, which he thought would be useful, both as a medium of communication with Spain, and as a position whence he could overawe Britain. He formed an acquaintance with an Irish chief, who, having been driven from his country by civil commotions, was ready to join in invading it. By him Agricola was informed that the island might be conquered by one legion and a few auxiliaries. The inhabitants, according to Tacitus, bore a near resemblance to the Britons.

5. It is generally allowed that the Romans experienced an unusual degree of difficulty in subduing the Britons; and it is certain that they were baffled in all their attempts upon the northern part of Scotland, which was then called *Caledonia*. The most they could do with the inhabitants of that country, was to build walls across the island to keep them by themselves. The first wall was built in the year 121, by the Emperor Hadrian, between Newcastle and the Solway Firth. The second was built by the Emperor Antoninus, about the year 140, as a connexion of the line of forts which Agricola had formed between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. This boundary was not long kept, for in 210 we find the Emperor Severus fortifying the rampart between the Tyne and Solway. Roman armies, however, probably under the command of Lollius Urbicus, had penetrated far beyond the more northerly wall, although, unfortunately, no accounts of their reception are preserved. From comparing Roman remains lately discovered, with ancient geographies, it is held as established that the Romans reached the north-east end of Loch Ness, near the modern town

of Inverness. The number of roads and camps which they made, and the regularity with which the country was divided into stations, prove their desire to preserve these conquests.

6 When the conquest was thus so far completed, the country was divided into six provinces, of the following names and boundaries:—*Britannia Prima*, or First Britain, to the south of the Thames and Severn; *Britannia Secunda*, or Second Britain, containing Wales and the adjoining districts along the Severn; *Flavia Cæsariensis*, from the two former provinces to the German Ocean, the Humber, and the Dec, *Marima Cæsariensis*, to the north of the Humber, from its mouth to the mouths of the Tyne and Eden; *Valentia*, from the Tyne and Eden to the Forth and Clyde; *Vespasiana*, the level country beyond the Forth, over which they had only a temporary dominion. The country was governed in the usual manner of a Roman province; and towns began to rise in the course of time, being generally those whose names are now found to end in *chester*, a word derived from *castra*, the Latin word for a camp. The Christian religion was also introduced, and Roman literature made some progress in the country.

CONQUEST BY THE SAXONS.

7. At length a time came when the Romans could no longer defend their own proper country against the nations in the north of Europe. The soldiers were then withdrawn from Britain (about the year 410), and the people left to govern themselves. The Caledonians, who did not like to be so much straitened in the north, took advantage of the unprotected state of the Britons to pour in upon them from the other side of the wall, and despoil them of their lives and goods. The British had no resource but to call in another set of protectors, the Saxons, a warlike people who lived in the north of Germany, and the Jutes and Angles, who inhabited Denmark. The remedy was found hardly any better than the disease. Having once acquired a footing in the island, these hardy strangers proceeded to make it a subject of conquest, as the Romans had done before, with this material difference, that they drove the British to

the western parts of the island, particularly into Wales, and settled, with new hordes of their countrymen, over the better part of the land. So completely was the population changed in this manner, that, excepting in the names of some of the hills and rivers, the British language was extinguished, and even the name of the country itself was changed from what it originally was, to Angle-land, or England, a term taken from the Angles. The conquest required about a hundred and fifty years to be effected, and, like that of the Romans, it extended no farther north than the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Before the Britons were finally cooped up in Wales, many battles were fought; but few of these are accurately recorded. The most distinguished of the British generals were the Princes Vortimer and Aurelius Ambrosius: it is probably on the achievements of the latter that the well-known fables of Arthur and his knights are founded.

8 England, exclusive of the western regions, was now divided into seven kingdoms, called Kent, Northumberland, East Anglia, Mercia, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex, each of which was governed by a race descended from the leader who had first subdued it; and the whole have since been called by historians the *Saxon Heptarchy*, the latter word being composed of two Greek words, signifying *seven kingdoms*. The kingdom of Northumberland, besides the county now bearing that name, included the present Scottish shires of Berwick, Roxburgh, and the Lothians. The British were also divided into kingdoms, but these it is not easy to distinguish. They were probably—Wales, with nearly its present limits; Cumbria, which comprised Cumberland and Westmoreland, and Strathclyde, which consisted of the shires of Dumbarton and Renfrew, with part of Lanarkshire, having the town of Dumbarton (then called Alclyde) for its capital. To the north of the Forth dwelt a nation called the Picts, who also had a king, and were, in all probability, the people with whom Agricola had fought under the name of Caledonians. In the Western Highlands there was another nation, known by the name of the Scots, or Dalriads, who had gradually migrated thither from Ireland, between the middle of the third century and the year 503, when they established, under a chief named Fergus, a

monarchy destined in time to absorb all the rest. About the year 700, there were no fewer than fifteen kings, or chiefs, within the island, while Ireland was nearly in the same situation. In Britain, at the same time, five languages were in use, the Latin, Saxon, Welsh (or British), the Pictish, and the Irish. The prosperity of the whole country has been found to increase as these nations and principalities were gradually amassed together.

9. Although three of the Saxon kingdoms, Wessex, Mercia, and Northumberland, had become predominant, the Heptarchy prevailed from about the year 585 to 800, when Egbert, King of Wessex, acquired a paramount influence over all the other states, though their kings still continued to reign. Alfred, so celebrated for his virtues, was the grandson of Egbert, and began to reign in the year 871. At this time, the Danes, who are now a quiet, inoffensive people, were a nation of pirates, and at the same time heathens. They used to come in large fleets, and commit dreadful ravages on the shores of Britain. For some time, they completely overturned the sovereignty of Alfred, and compelled him to live in obscurity in the centre of a marsh. But he at length fell upon them, when they thought themselves in no danger, and regained the greater part of his kingdom. Alfred spent the rest of his life in literary study, of which he was very fond, and in forming laws and regulations for the good of his people. He was, perhaps, the most able, most virtuous, and most popular prince that ever reigned in Britain; and all this is the more surprising, when we find that his predecessors and successors, for many ages, were extremely cruel and ignorant. He died in the year 901, in the fifty-third year of his age.

10. The Danes had been able, notwithstanding the exertions of Alfred, to retain possession of that portion of the east coast of England which lies between the Thames and the Tweed; and during the next hundred and fifty years, three of their princes, among whom was the famous Canute, were considered as the sovereigns of England. In time, the Saxon princes established their supremacy over the Danish provinces, though the people were still allowed to retain their peculiar customs and laws.

EARLY CONDITION OF IRELAND.

11. Overlooking the fabulous accounts of Ireland, which represent it as having been colonised by the Phœnicians a thousand years before Christ, it is not to be doubted that, in the early centuries of the Christian era, while Britain was still comparatively barbarous, it was remarkable as a seat of learning and religion, scholars and priests being sent from it to civilise the rest of Western Europe. About the end of the eighth century, it was invaded by troops of Scandinavians, the people then inhabiting the north of Europe, who plundered the country, took the greater part of it, and held it for some years under a chief of their own, who probably reigned over more territory than any of the Irish princes of the eighth and ninth centuries. These invaders are said to have been defeated, and nearly driven from the island, by Malachy, King of Meath; but reinforcements from Scandinavia, arriving in the middle of the ninth century, enabled them to re-assert their superiority. After much bloodshed, they established themselves permanently over a tract of country, and continued to be one of the most powerful septs or races in Ireland. They were called Ostmen or Eastmen, and from them part of the present mixed race of Ireland is descended.

UNION OF THE SCOTTISH AND PICTISH KINGDOMS.

12. In the year 853, Kenneth, King of the Scots, added the Pictish kingdom to his own, as ancient chroniclers say, by gaining a victory over the Picts, and putting them all to death, but more probably by intermarriage. In 1020, his descendant, Malcolm the Second, extended his dominions over not only the south of Scotland, but a part of the north of England. Thus the whole island, putting aside Wales, is found, about the middle of the eleventh century, to have constituted only two kingdoms of unequal magnitude and strength—the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Scotland, under which distinctions they were destined to continue for several hundred years, neither being able to make much impression upon the other.

FORM OF THE SAXON GOVERNMENT.

13. The form of government during the Saxon period is considered by some as the foundation of the more liberal parts of our present constitution. It has been doubted whether the kings were elected by the people, or hereditary. It is clear that they were generally taken from one family, considered as the royal stock; but there was evidently no regular system of descent, and the most able or powerful member of the family seems always to have filled the vacancy. The persons next in degree after the kings were the *aldermen*, or governors of shires—persons whose power became, on some occasions, almost equal to that of a king. The next order were the *thanes*, or landed proprietors, who appear to have been a very numerous class, and of different degrees of rank. The *ceorls*, or husbandmen, were the lowest order. These, although evidently kept in a state of considerable subjection, were protected by the laws, and, when they became possessed of sufficient property, might be advanced to the rank of thanes. The conquered British natives appear to be the only class who were in the situation of slaves. For the transaction of the more important matters, the king held a great council, called the Wittenagemot, which consisted of the prelates, the aldermen, and “the wise men” of the country. What class was entitled to sit under this last name, does not clearly appear.

14. The country was divided into counties, at what time is not known, but in some districts before the time of Alfred, who is generally supposed to have had the credit of this division. Each county was divided into districts called hundreds, either from the number of families or of landed proprietors in each. The hundreds were divided into tithings, and each hundred, as well as each tithing, was presided over by an officer. Every freeman above twelve years of age was required to be enrolled in some tithing. The members of each tithing were a sort of perpetual security for each other's conduct. When one committed a crime, the others were obliged to produce him for punishment, or on failure, to pay the penalty; for the punishment of every

crime was by fine. When one left his neighbourhood, any one who sheltered him became responsible for his conduct after the second night, and if no one would become responsible for him, he might be seized as a robber. Hundred courts were occasionally held, but the principal seat of justice was the county court. It was held at intervals by the aldermen and the bishop, along with the thanes or landed proprietors. There every freeman was obliged to appear and give his allegiance. Breaches of the peace, offences, and disputes about property, were there decided, and no appeal could be made to the king, unless the county court refused to decide. This system partially existed in the other countries of Europe before the feudal law prevailed, but it was brought to its greatest perfection under Alfred and his successors in England. An institution very much resembling trial by jury existed among the Saxons. It was usual for people in that barbarous age, when accused of any crime, to appeal to some sort of ordeal, such as a miraculous interposition of Providence, or single combat, in proof of their innocence. Among other ordeals, that of appealing to the oaths of twelve neighbours became customary among the Saxons and other Norman people; but the trial by jury, as afterwards practised, derived something from feudal usages. It has been much questioned whether the feudal system at all existed among the Saxons. As is natural, they imitated some of the customs of that system, as practised by the continental nations; but the system was not introduced as a regular form of government until the invasion of the Normans.

CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY THE NORMANS.

15. The Saxon line of princes continued to reign, with the exceptions already mentioned, till the year 1066, when the crown was in the possession of an usurper named Harold. The country was then invaded by William Duke of Normandy, a man of illegitimate birth, attended by a large and powerful army. Harold opposed him at Hastings (October 14), but, after a well-contested battle, his army

was defeated, and himself slain. William then caused himself to be crowned king at Westminster. It was at first his policy to allow many of the Saxon prelates and statesmen to retain their offices and lands ; but either enraged at their revolts, or feeling himself become more powerful, he finally vested almost every estate and office in his own countrymen. Every method which could tend to annihilate the Saxons as a distinct people was attempted. Their customs and laws, especially the more popular ones, he tried to suppress. The French was made the language of the court. All law papers were appointed to be drawn in it. The Norman-French literature was introduced, and the English language exposed to contempt, and even prohibited to be taught in schools. But all these measures were in vain, for both the language and the customs of the Saxons survived all efforts to crush them.

16. William also introduced the feudal system, and on more tyrannical principles than those which prevailed in other countries. Its leading peculiarities were these :—The king was what is called superior, or lord paramount of all the landed property of the kingdom. The proprietors of the land were his vassals, and held it from him. Each of these proprietors might, in the same way, have vassals holding portions of his estate from him, as he held the whole from the king. In virtue of the compact formed between the two parties, the superior secured the vassal in his lands, while the vassal, in acknowledgment, gave homage, attended the councils of his superior, assisted in war, paid tribute to support his establishment, and made donations on certain events in the superior's family, as, for instance, when his eldest son was knighted. He was likewise subject to certain fines called casualties, as substitutes for certain obligations. Thus, if he married of his own accord, and not at the desire of his superior, he paid a fine ; a fine was paid when the property changed hands, to induce the superior to admit the new vassal, and in other instances. Previously to this period, the church of Rome, which was the only surviving part of the power of that empire, had established its supremacy over England.

France. This lady, and her children by Plantagenet, were properly the heirs of the English crown ; but on the death of Henry, in 1135, it was seized by an usurper named **STEPHEN**, a distant member of the Conqueror's family, who reigned for nineteen years, during which the country was rendered almost desolate by civil wars, in which David of Scotland occasionally joined. At this time, in other quarters of Europe besides England, the birthright of princes frequently caused great bloodshed and misery among the people.

22. On the death of Stephen, in 1154, the crown fell peacefully to **HENRY THE SECOND**, who was the eldest son of Maud, and the first of the Plantagenet race of sovereigns. Henry was an acute and politic prince, though not in any respect more amiable than his predecessors. His reign was principally marked by a series of measures for reducing the power of the Romish clergy, in the course of which, some of his courtiers, in 1171, thought they could not do him a better service than to murder Thomas-à-Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been the chief obstacle to his views, and was one of the ablest and most ambitious men ever produced in England. For his concern in this foul transaction, Henry had to perform a humiliating penance, receiving eighty lashes on his bare back from the monks of Canterbury. We are the less inclined to wonder at this circumstance, when we consider, that, about this time, the Pope had power to cause two kings to perform the menial service of leading his horse.

23. Henry had a beautiful mistress named Rosamond Clifford, or usually Fair Rosamond, for whom he is said to have built a retreat, or bower, at Woodstock, of which the approaches were so intricate, that no stranger could find his way through them. It is added that the queen, becoming jealous of the influence of this lady over her husband, took an opportunity, in the king's absence, to enter her bower, and oblige her to drink poison, of which she died. Henry was a man of prompt wit, of which an example is given by his historians. As he travelled through the country, the prior and monks of St Swithin's Abbey threw themselves in his way, in the mire, complaining that the Bishop of Win-

chester had ordered them to have three dishes less at table every day. The king asked how many dishes the bishop had left, to which they answered, "Ten." "I myself have but three," said the king, "and I enjoin the bishop to reduce you to the same number."

24. Henry was the most powerful king that had yet reigned in Britain. Besides the great hereditary domains which he possessed in France, and for which he did homage to the king of that country, he exacted a temporary homage from William of Scotland, the grandson of David, a monarch of great valour, who took the surname of *the Lion*, and who reigned from 1166 to 1214. It was also during the reign of Henry II. that Ireland became a part of the dominions of the English king.

THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

25. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Irish appear to have been in a ruder state than they were in the time of the Heptarchy. It is said by an Irish historian that they possessed, notwithstanding their numerous wars, hardly any fortified places, and that the earliest building of stone and lime was the castle of Tuam, built in 1161 by Roderick O'Connor. The country was divided into five kingdoms, Leinster, Munster, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath; but there were many inferior and nearly independent principalities. It seems to have been the practice to choose one of the five kings as a sort of president of the body, or nominal king of the whole of Ireland. A general legislative body or council seems to have been held, but with what amount of power has not been ascertained. The chiefs were continually at variance with each other, and not only was the soil which should provide the bread of the poorer classes, desolated by wars, but the people were obliged to pay enormous tributes, to enable their chiefs to carry on these contests. It may be added, that the country was crowded with churchmen, the number of bishops in 1152 being three hundred.

26. Such was the state of matters when some English barons were tempted to cross to Ireland as partisans of the

conflicting parties, resolving to take advantage of any opportunity of profiting themselves which might fall in their way Dermot MacMurchad, King of Leinster, had carried off the wife of Terence O'Rourk, King of Breffney. The injured husband procured assistance from the other kings, and Dermot was deposed. He fled into England to seek assistance, and even followed Henry to Guienne in France, and, falling at his feet, implored his interference. Henry had previously formed some design of invading Ireland, and had providently furnished himself with a bull or decree from the Pope, empowering him to conquer the country. He now either considered the project an imprudent one, or was too much occupied with other matters; for all the assistance he gave the Irish monarch was a letter of credit to his subjects in England, allowing any who chose to assist in the recovery of Leinster. Dermot had some difficulty in finding any of the English barons sufficiently adventurous to undertake the project; but, by a promise of his daughter's hand, and the succession of his kingdom, he at last procured the aid of Strongbow, Earl of Chepstow. The adventure was afterwards joined by Robert Fitzstephen, Maurice Fitzgerald, and some other Welsh knights, whose names afterwards became conspicuous in Irish history. Fitzstephen's detachment consisted of thirty knights, sixty men in armour, and three hundred archers; and the others headed similar bodies. Several battles and considerable bloodshed took place, and Waterford and Dublin were stormed. As was natural, neither Dermot nor his allies were contented with merely recovering his ancient kingdom. Roderic O'Connor, nominally king of all Ireland, interfered, though rather too late, and made a treaty, which was broken by the allies. They were interrupted in their progress by the death of Dermot; and Henry, fearing lest his subjects should be too powerful, ordered them to return.

27. Henry landed in Ireland, in 1172, with a force of 400 knights, and 4000 soldiers, which effectually turned the scale in favour of the English, and the Irish chiefs submitted in all quarters. A part of the country was portioned off in shires, and afterwards was called *the English Pale*, being the district in which the adventurers resided. It was the misfor-

tune of this country that the English kings, often disturbed by commotions at home, found the easiest way of governing Ireland to be, by sending to it a succession of these adventurers, whose chief object was plunder. It is almost impossible to describe the dreadful confusion and anarchy which this system caused during the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John. The smallest kingdoms, or, more properly speaking, estates, became the subjects of wars between relations; men murdered their fathers and brothers, that they might succeed them, and the English settlers, instead of spreading peace and civilisation, divided themselves into parties with the natives, and often fought against each other.

RICHARD CŒUR DE LION.

28. Henry II. was much troubled in his latter years by the disobedience of his children. At his death, in 1189, he was succeeded by his son RICHARD, styled *Cœur de Lion*, or the *Lion-hearted*, from his headstrong courage, and who was much liked by his subjects on that account, though it does not appear that he possessed any of the other good qualities which usually command affection. At the coronation of Richard, the people were permitted to massacre many thousands of unoffending Jews throughout the kingdom. Almost immediately after his accession, he joined the King of France in a second crusade; landed in Palestine (1191), and fought with prodigious valour, but with no good result. On one occasion, being offended at a breach of truce by his opponent Saladin, he beheaded 5000 prisoners; whose deaths were immediately revenged by a similar massacre of Christian prisoners. In 1192, he returned with a small remnant of his gallant army, and, being shipwrecked at Aquileia, wandered in disguise into the dominions of his mortal enemy the Duke of Austria, who, with the Emperor of Germany, detained him till he was redeemed by a ransom, which impoverished nearly the whole of his subjects. This prince spent the rest of his life in unavailing wars with Philip of France, and was killed at the siege of a castle in Limousin, in 1199, after a reign of ten years, of which he had spent only about three months in England.

29. During the reign of Richard I., there flourished a celebrated person usually named Robin Hood, whose aim it seems to have been to redress in some measure the grievances which the poor suffered at the hands of their superiors. He established himself, with a friend named Little John, and about a hundred other followers, in Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire, where he lived on the king's deer, and led a wild life, omitting no opportunity to attack travellers of rank, whom he easily succeeded in robbing. The wealth which he thus acquired he distributed amongst the poor, in order to compensate for their oppressions and sorrows. It is also told in praise of Robin, that he seldom hurt any man, and never attacked ladies. The weapons he used were chiefly bows and arrows, and he occasionally played at quarter-staff for his amusement. This bold outlaw is said to have died at Berkeley nunnery, through the treachery of a monk, whom he requested to open one of his veins for a sickness, and who allowed him to bleed to death.

KING JOHN—MAGNA CHARTA.

30. JOHN, the younger brother of Richard, succeeded, although Arthur Duke of Bretagne, the son of an intermediate brother, was the proper heir. John, who was at once vain, cruel, and weak, alienated the affections of his subjects almost at the very first, by the assassination of his nephew, which he is said to have performed with his own hands. It happens, however, that the weakness of kings is often the means of giving increased liberties and privileges to the people. The paltry tyranny and wickedness of John caused his barons to rise against him, and the result was, that, on the 19th June 1215, he was compelled by them to grant what is called the *Magna Charta*, or great charter, for securing the various orders of his subjects in their rights.

31. Previously to this event, the Norman kings may be considered as having been absolute monarchs—all they had to dread being the greatness of their own vassals, who were accustomed to meet, when summoned by the king, and give their advice or consent on the matters laid before them, but did not exercise any powerful control. The proper revenue

of the crown consisted of the feudal casualties or fines formerly described. The principal of these was Escuage, which was a composition for the performance of the proper duties of military vassals. This was levied to its utmost, and found deficient, and then those who were not military vassals, but had acquired property by commerce, or other means, were compelled to pay tallages or aids to the king, which were collected by his justices. Money was raised by selling justice, or by making those who were protected in the law-courts pay large sums to the king. In the midst of these oppressions, the people, and sometimes the Norman barons themselves, used to call for the restoration of the good old laws of the Saxon kings. At length, Magna Charta established that the monarchy of England was limited, and that all classes of the people, from the highest to the lowest, had legal privileges which were not to be invaded. The feudal fines or casualties were restricted and made definite, and some of them abolished. The Escuage, or aid of the military vassals, was limited to particular occasions, unless an extra aid were given by consent of the general council of the dignified clergy and barons. Here we have the first practical assertion of the right of the nation to tax itself by its representatives, and the source of the practice of the great council, ultimately called Parliament, to demand the redress of some grievance before granting an aid. But perhaps the most valuable stipulation directly in favour of the common people, was that which appointed that "no freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or *disseised* (that is, deprived of his lands), or outlawed, or banished, or any ways destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, or commit him to prison, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." This has been considered as establishing two invaluable principles of our constitution: *first*, that no man is to be punished, or kept in confinement, until he has been put to a trial; and, *second*, that the trial must be by his equals, or a jury. Other provisions secured the privileges of burghs, and the proper forms of justice, and twenty-five barons were appointed to see that the charter should be safely kept.

32. Notwithstanding the immunities granted to the people

at this period, a species of slavery, called *villeinage*, by which rural labourers were transferred or sold along with the soil, still existed in the country, and the Great Charter, instead of abolishing it, only rendered it less severe. Whatever may have been its presumed deficiencies, Magna Charta was a document of incalculable value to the people. The Pope, it appears, regarded it as a shameful violation of the royal prerogative, and excommunicated its authors, as being worse, he said, than infidels. The opinion of a modern historian is very different. He says, "To have produced the Great Charter, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England on the esteem of mankind." And such is now the universal sentiment regarding this first bulwark of English liberty.

HENRY III.—ORIGIN OF PARLIAMENT.

33. On the death of John, in 1216, he was succeeded by his son, Henry III., a weak and worthless prince, who ascended the throne in his boyhood, and reigned fifty-six years, without having performed one worthy act of sufficient consequence to be detailed. But while he was weak and useless, he was not dangerous, except in as far as he could not control the mischief worked by others; and hence it happened that some of the best portions of our constitution had their origin during his reign. It has been already observed, that, according to the feudal system, the king, as superior of all the lands in the country, was entitled to call all those who held lands of him to a great council. This was done in other countries besides England. Those who formed this council were the archbishops, the bishops, the abbots, and the barons. The barons appeared, not by virtue of the rank they held as noblemen, but of the lands they held of the crown, and it is believed that the churchmen were summoned for the same reason. The first appearance of a separation between the greater and the lesser barons, is in Magna Charta. There it is appointed that the king shall summon each great baron personally, by separate letters, but that all other freeholders shall be generally summoned by the sheriffs; a practice which may be said still to con-

tinue in force. Had all the freeholders of the country been thus brought together, the assembly would necessarily have been a very tumultuary one, and by no means fitted to transact business ; besides, it was burdensome to the smaller barons to attend, and they always felt themselves under the influence of the greater. Hence it seems to have been judged fit that the smaller barons only should send representatives. As early as the fourth and ninth years of Henry III., it would seem that knights were chosen in each shire to assess the supplies ; but these do not seem to have gone to Parliament. In the year 1244, besides calling the greater barons, the king, in his writ, distinctly orders each sheriff to send " two good and discreet men of his county, whom the men of the county shall have chosen for this purpose, in the stead of all and each of them, to consider, along with the knights of other counties, what aid they will grant the king."

34. The troubles of the period served to further the progress of the council or parliament towards its character as a representative body. The king had married a foreign woman. His mother, the widow of King John, married the Count de La Marche, and thus connected him with a new set of relations, likewise foreigners. To these he showed such indulgence and favour as offended his English subjects ; and the insolence of the foreigners, who, filling many high places, disregarded the great charter, added to their discontent. Many of the powerful barons remonstrated, and at last revolted. Louis IX., King of France, a prince of singular character, and full of romantic generosity, made several efforts to restore peace to England, by reconciling the king and the barons to each other, but in vain. At length, twenty-four barons, at the head of whom was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, having undertaken the task of reforming the kingdom, almost completely superseded the royal authority. These, in 1261, called a Parliament, to which, for the sake probably of securing popularity, knights were to be elected from each shire, not merely to grant supplies, but to consult on the other matters connected with the government of the country. Still there were no representatives from the burghs. This was to be accomplished

by Leicester soon afterwards. That ambitious baron, with the assistance of a Welsh army, and the populace of some of the cities, overran the country, seized the king's person, and aimed at royal authority. In these circumstances, he summoned a Parliament in 1264, to which the sheriffs were directed to return two knights for each shire, *and two citizens or burgesses from each city or borough*. Thus did Parliament gradually assume the important form which it has ever since borne in a greater or less degree; though it was not till about seventy years later that it was divided into two houses.

EDWARD I.—EDWARD II.—ATTEMPTED CONQUEST
OF SCOTLAND.

- 35. Henry III., at his death in 1272, was succeeded by his son EDWARD THE FIRST, a prince as warlike and sagacious as his father was the reverse. He had no sooner mounted the throne, than he turned his attention to Wales, with the view of adding it to his dominions. In 1276, he first invaded that country, and quickly succeeded in obliging the native prince Llewellen to do homage to him as his superior. The Welsh contended bravely against the English for several years, but, in December 1282, were overthrown in a great battle at Llandwyr, when their prince Llewellen was taken and put to death. It is stated that, soon after, finding that the native bards or poets helped greatly to keep up the patriotic spirit of the Welsh, he collected them all at one place, and caused them to be destroyed. Since this period, Wales has formed a part of England, but the people continue to this day to be distinguished by many peculiarities of personal appearance and manners.

36. From the death of William the Lion in 1214, Scotland had been ruled by two princes, named ALEXANDER THE SECOND and ALEXANDER THE THIRD, under whom it advanced considerably in wealth and civilisation. On the death of Alexander III., in 1285, the crown fell to his granddaughter Margaret, a young girl, whose father was Eric, King of Norway. Edward formed a treaty with the

Estates of Scotland for a marriage between this princess and his son, whom he styled Prince of Wales. Unfortunately, the young lady died on her voyage to Scotland; and the crown was left to be disputed by a multitude of distant relations, of whom John Baliol and Robert Bruce seemed to have the best right. Edward, being resolved to make Scotland his own at all hazards, interfered in this dispute, and, being appointed arbitrator among the competitors, persuaded them to own, in the first place, an ill-defined claim put forward by himself of a right of paramountcy or superior sovereignty over Scotland. When this was done, he appointed Baliol to be his vassal king, an honour which the unfortunate man was not long permitted to enjoy. Having driven Baliol to resistance, he invaded the country, overthrew his army, and, stripping him of his sovereignty, assumed to himself the dominion of Scotland, as a right forfeited to him by the rebellion of his vassal. When he returned to England, he carried with him the regalia and public records of Scotland, as if to destroy all outward symbols of its independence.

37. The troops left in Scotland to keep the people in check were sometimes unduly insolent. Their conduct at length roused the indignation of a youth named William Wallace, the younger son of a gentleman of Renfrewshire. Wallace, having killed one or two individuals of the English garrisons, was obliged to skulk for his life amidst the wilds of his native country. There he met with companions in the same case with himself, and, by and bye, at the head of these persons, he ventured to attack straggling parties of the English. The tradition of his country ascribes to him uncommon personal strength, perhaps more than he really possessed; but it is certain that he was a man of vigour, boldness, and dexterity, much beyond what is common, and at the same time animated by a most zealous desire of freeing his country from foreign domination.

38. Being successful in his first attempts, he gradually acquired greater confidence, and in time other followers flocked to his standard. In less than a year from his first rising, he was at the head of a large army, which the English forces then in Scotland were unable to meet in the field.

A large reinforcement was sent by Edward, under an officer named Cressingham; but Wallace gained a complete victory over this army at Stirling, destroying an immense number of the enemy. Edward then led a still greater army into Scotland, and, overthrowing Wallace at Falkirk (1298), re-established his authority. After this period, Wallace continued to give incessant annoyance to the garrisons, but could not again redeem his country from the English yoke. In 1303, by the treachery of a friend named Sir John Menteith, he was given up to the English, and carried to London, where he was condemned as a traitor to Edward, and put to a cruel death, which he suffered with great magnanimity. By his countrymen his memory has ever since been held in the greatest veneration.

39. Some time after the death of Wallace, while Edward was engrossed with his French wars, ROBERT BRUCE, Earl of Carrick, grandson of him who had competed with Baliol, conceived the idea of putting himself at the head of the Scots, and endeavouring, by their means, at once to gain the crown, and to recover the independence of the kingdom. After a series of adventures, among which was the unpremeditated murder of a rival named Comyn, Bruce caused himself, in 1306, to be crowned at Scone. For some time after he had to skulk as a fugitive, being unable to maintain his ground against the English officers; but at length he became so formidable, that Edward found it necessary (1307) to lead a large army against him. The English monarch, worn out with fatigue and age, died on the coast of the Solway Firth, when just within sight of Scotland, leaving his sceptre to his son EDWARD THE SECOND. That weak and foolish prince immediately returned to London, leaving Bruce to contest with his inferior officers.

40. After several years of constant skirmishing, during which the Scottish king was able to maintain his ground, Edward resolved to make one decisive effort to reduce Scotland to subjection. In the summer, 1314, he led an army of 100,000 men into that country. Bruce drew up his troops, which were only 30,000 in number, at Bannockburn, near Stirling. Partly by steady valour, and partly by the use of stratagems, the Scots were victorious, and Edward

fled ignominiously from the field. The Scottish king gained an immense booty, besides securing his crown and the independence of his country. Thus, at the time when Ireland was sinking under English rule, through its unfortunate internal dissensions, the national spirit of the Scots, united under one beloved leader, saved their comparatively poor country from that disaster, and enabled it, at the proper time, to accede to an union, instead of submitting to a conquest.

CAREER OF EDWARD BRUCE IN IRELAND.

41. Some of the Irish chieftains, hearing of the brilliant career of Robert Bruce, applied to him for assistance. He considered this a good opportunity of getting employment for his brother Edward, whose restless ambition seemed likely to disturb his own government. It is to be feared that this aspiring young man did not go to Ireland with the high feelings of a liberator, to assist a nation struggling for freedom, but rather with the view of imposing his own authority instead of that of the English monarch. He was joined by a large portion of the Irish, but others were opposed to him, while of the discontented English some ranked themselves on the one side and some on the other. After a career of the most remorseless cruelty, the faction of Bruce was defeated, and its leader slain. The effects of the invasion, however, were permanent. It not only added to the rancour of parties, but it desolated the country to an extent unknown before. The English themselves, reduced to famine, were obliged to plunder the miserable remains of provisions which were found in the hands of the natives. Reduced to this dismal state, many of the English settlers left the country, or mingled with the Irish, and followed their wild life; and a long period elapsed before the country was restored even to the state in which it had been before this last civil war. Many of the great English barons now began to find pleasure in the barbarous grandeur of the Irish chiefs; they imitated them in their manners, assumed their laws, and gradually lost sight of their own origin. These were called degenerate English. Edward III.,

a later sovereign, issued an ordinance revoking all grants made by himself and his father, and for disqualifying all, except Englishmen holding property in England, from holding offices in Ireland. But this had only the effect of consolidating the enemies of the English crown, and giving rise to an invidious distinction of *English by birth*, and *English by blood*. Meanwhile, in 1295, the first Irish Parliament had been held, consisting of the English barons within the pale. \

42. The weakness of Edward II. was chiefly shown in a fondness for favourites, into whose hands he committed the whole interests of his people. The first was a low Frenchman, named Piers Gaveston, who soon fell a victim to the indignation of the barons. The second, Hugh Spencer, misgoverned the country for several years, till at length the Queen and Prince of Wales raised an insurrection against the king, and caused him to be deposed, as quite unfit to reign. The Prince was then crowned as EDWARD THE THIRD (1327), being as yet only about fourteen years of age; and, in the course of a few months, the degraded monarch was cruelly murdered in Berkeley Castle.

43 During the minority of the young king, the reins of government were held by his mother and the Earl of March. Under their administration, a peace was concluded with King Robert of Scotland, of which one of the conditions was a full acknowledgment of the independence of the Scottish monarchy, which had been a matter of dispute for some ages.

EDWARD III.

44. Edward III., who soon after assumed full power, was destined to make good the remark prevalent at this time, that the kings of England were alternately able and imbecile. He was a warlike and sagacious monarch, and inspired by all his grandfather's desire of conquest. In 1329, Robert Bruce died, and was succeeded by his infant son DAVID THE SECOND, to whom a young sister of the English king was married, in terms of the late treaty. Notwithstanding this connexion, Edward aided a son of John Baliol in an attempt

to gain the Scottish crown. Edward Baliol overthrew the Regent of Scotland, at Duplin, September 1332, and for two months reigned as King of Scots, while David and his wife took refuge in France. The usurper afterwards returned, and for many years the country was harassed by unceasing wars, in which the English took a leading part.

45. The independence of Scotland would probably have been lost on this occasion, if Edward III. had not turned his attention to France, to the sovereignty of which country he pretended a right through his mother. Being determined to make good this claim, he assumed the title of King of France (1340), and took for his motto "Dieu et Mon Droit" (God and my right), which has ever since been borne by the kings of England. After several years of warfare, in which no remarkable event occurred, he led a splendid army into Normandy, accompanied by his youthful son, Edward, usually called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour. At Cressy (August 26, 1346), he encountered a much larger French army, over which he gained a complete victory, killing about 30,000 of the common soldiers. Amongst many distinguished persons who fell on the French side, was the King of Bohemia, who, though blind, insisted on going into battle, with his horse tied to the bridles of two brave knights. The crest of this monarch, consisting of three ostrich feathers and the motto "Ich Dien" (I serve), was adopted by the Prince of Wales, and has ever since been borne by his successors. Cannon are said to have been first used at the battle of Cressy. About this time, David, King of Scots, tempted by the absence of Edward and his best troops, invaded England; but the English queen met and overthrew his army at Nevil's Cross, near Durham, and took the Scottish king prisoner. David remained a captive in England for eleven years.

46. Next year Edward took the city of Calais, after a long siege. Exasperated by the obstinacy of the inhabitants, he would only grant them life on the condition of having a certain number of them delivered up to his vengeance. At a public meeting of the citizens, six were found to offer themselves as a sacrifice for the rest. Barefooted, in their

shirts, with halters about their necks, these men came into the presence of the incensed monarch, who was about to order them for instant execution, when his consort interceded, and with difficulty prevailed on him to acknowledge their singular merit by pardoning them. Calais remained for upwards of two centuries in possession of the English.

47. For some years the war was carried on languidly; but, in 1356, the Black Prince gained another great victory, at Poitiers; when John, King of France, and his son Philip, were taken prisoners and brought to England. Edward now kept in captivity the kings of both France and Scotland; yet this did not much favour his arms in those countries. A large army, which he conducted into Scotland in 1356, was only able to burn and pillage, not subdue. A similar invasion of France three years later, ended in the like manner. In 1360, he virtually abandoned his claim on France by making a treaty of peace, in which he agreed to set King John free. The wars of this monarch must therefore be considered as only brilliant; they were attended with no advantage, either to himself, whose ambition had prompted them, or to the people, who had given property and life to support them. It was stipulated that the King of France should pay a large ransom. He went to his own country, to use his endeavours to induce his subjects to advance the money; but they were either unable or unwilling to do so. He then returned to England, to give himself up once more as a prisoner. This honest act, and the generosity of the six citizens of Calais, show that, amidst the barbarism of the age, there were some minds capable of a romantic degree of virtue.

48. England was at this time affected more than at any other by the fashions of chivalry. This was a military enthusiasm, which for some centuries pervaded all Christian Europe. It prompted, as one of its first principles, a heedless bravery in encountering all kinds of danger. Its votaries were expected to be particularly bold in behalf of the fair sex, insomuch that a young knight would sometimes challenge to mortal combat any one who denied his mistress to be the loveliest in the world. Tournaments were held at which knights clad in complete armour would ride against

each other at full speed with levelled lances, merely to try which had the greatest strength and skill ; and many were killed on these occasions. It was a system full of extravagance, and tending to bloodshed ; but, nevertheless, it maintained a courtesy towards females, and a romantic principle of honour, which we may be glad to admire, considering how rude was almost every other feature of the age.

49. At this and a later period, the clergy possessed vast wealth and influence, and were the only men of learning in the kingdom. High state offices were often entrusted to them. One named William of Wykeham rose from a humble origin to be Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Winchester. He was distinguished for piety, of the kind then prevalent, and for his love of learning, and taste for architecture ; all of which qualities were seen in his building the New College at Oxford, and another college or school at Winchester, as well as in his improvements upon Winchester Cathedral. One other college at Oxford and two at Cambridge were founded in this reign. But the learning which prevailed was neither useful nor elegant. There was great ignorance even amongst those who might have been expected to be the best informed. For example, when Parliament had on one occasion to raise £50,000 for the king, it laid a tax of 22s. 6d. on each parish, from a supposition that there would be about 45,000 parishes in the kingdom. It was found that the real number was only about a fifth part of 45,000, and the Parliament was then obliged to impose £5, 10s. on each parish.

RICHARD II

50. At the death of Edward III. in 1377 (his son the Black Prince having died the year before), he was succeeded by his grandson, RICHARD THE SECOND, then a boy of eleven years of age, and who proved to be a person of weak and profligate character. The Commons took advantage of the irregularity of his government to strengthen their privileges, which they had with difficulty sustained during the more powerful rule of his predecessor. Early in this reign they assumed the right, not only of taxing the country, but of

seeing how the money was spent. Indignant at the severity of a tax imposed upon all grown-up persons, the peasantry of the eastern parts of England rose, in 1381, under a person of their own order, named Wat Tyler, and advanced, to the number of 60,000, to London, where they put to death the Chancellor and Primate, as evil counsellors of their sovereign. They demanded the abolition of bondage, the liberty of buying and selling in fairs and markets, a general pardon, and the reduction of the rent of land to an equal rate. The king came to confer with them at Smithfield, where, on some slight pretence, Walworth, mayor of London, stabbed Wat Tyler with a dagger—a weapon which has since figured in the armorial bearings of the metropolis. The peasants were dismayed, and submitted, and no fewer than fifteen hundred of them were hanged. Wat Tyler's insurrection certainly proceeded upon a glimmering sense of those equal rights of mankind which have since been generally acknowledged, and it is remarkable, that at the same time the doctrines of the reformer Wickliffe were first heard of. This learned ecclesiastic wrote against the power of the Pope, and some of the most important points of the Romish faith, and also executed a translation of the Bible into English. His writings are acknowledged to have been of material, though not immediate effect, in bringing about the reformation of religion.

HENRY IV.—ROBERT II AND ROBERT III—HENRY V.

51. The country was misgoverned by Richard II. till 1399, when his cousin Henry, Duke of Lancaster, whom he had deeply wronged, took advantage of his absence in Ireland, to raise a rebellion against him. The people supported the duke with so large an army, that Richard, on returning to England, was obliged to surrender, and was committed a prisoner to the Tower. The duke had at first disclaimed all pretensions to the crown, to which, failing even King Richard, he had no just right, his father John of Gaunt having been the fifth son of Edward III., and descendants of an elder son being still in existence. But he was now tempted to seize the throne, and therefore

caused himself to be proclaimed king, under the title of **HENRY THE FOURTH**. He resorted to Parliament to have his title confirmed, a step which tended to elevate the popular branch of the government. Three months after his deposition, King Richard died in Pontefract Castle, being, it is said, starved to death by order of King Henry.

52. In the mean time, David II. of Scotland died in 1371, and with him terminated the line of Robert Bruce. He was succeeded by a nephew considerably older than himself, who had for many years been the chief defender of the kingdom. This was Robert Stewart, son of Marjory Bruce (daughter of Robert I.), by her husband, Walter, the Steward of Scotland. **ROBERT THE SECOND**, as this monarch was called, was the first of the house of Stewart. He was a man of virtuous character, and governed the country in a peaceful manner till his death in 1389, when he was succeeded by his eldest son John, who, fearing a name which had been borne by an unpopular king in both England and Scotland, assumed the title of **ROBERT THE THIRD**. This was likewise a good prince, but of too gentle a disposition to rule well in so barbarous an age. He had two sons, David and James : the former was starved to death by his uncle, the Duke of Albany ; and the second, when on his way to France for his education, was seized by Henry IV. of England, and kept captive in that country for eighteen years. Robert III. then died of a broken heart (1406), and the kingdom fell into the hands of the Duke of Albany, at whose death, in 1419, it was governed by his son Duke Murdoch, a very imbecile personage. During the regency of Albany (1410), the University of St Andrews was founded by Bishop Wardlaw, being the earliest institution of the kind in Scotland.

53. Henry IV. proved a prudent prince, and, comparatively, a good ruler. He was successful in his wars against the Scots, and in suppressing various insurrections of his own subjects. The most formidable rebellion against him was one raised by Percy, Earl of Northumberland, in connexion with the Scots, and with Owen Glendower, a descendant of the Welsh princes. It terminated in an obstinate fight at Shrewsbury, where the earl's son, " Hot-

spur," was killed, and his party completely broken. Northumberland was afterwards killed in a second rebellious attempt; but Glendower kept up an irregular warfare in Wales for several years, and acquired the reputation of a Wallace amongst his countrymen. The good fortune which attended the king throughout life suggested to him a superstitious maxim, that the success of an enterprise was a proof that it had received the favour of heaven. He entertained this notion till towards the end of his life, when, being troubled with a loathsome eruption in the face, which the people believed to be a punishment for his executing an archbishop, he began to think that good and bad fortune were no proof of merit. Amongst the troubles of King Henry, at this time, was that of having a son entirely given up to bad company and dissolute conduct. The prince is said to have even joined a party of robbers who went upon the highway. One of his comrades being condemned for a felony, he was so enraged as to strike the judge upon the bench. The judge, Sir William Gascoigne, immediately ordered him to prison, and the prince, now sensible of his misconduct, submitted. The boldness of the judge, and the respect shown by the prince for the laws, were much admired, and proved some gratification to the king.

54 On the death of Henry IV. in 1413, he was succeeded by his son, who was proclaimed under the title of HENRY THE FIFTH. The young king attained high popularity, on account of his impartial administration of justice, and his zeal to protect the poor from the oppressions of their superiors. His reign is less agreeably marked by the persecutions of the Lollards, a body of religious reformers, many of whom were condemned to the flames.

55. The king was determined to use every endeavour to gain the crown of France, which he considered his by right of birth. The dauphin, in derision, sent him a ton of tennis balls, as thinking him fitter for sport than war; but Henry soon convinced him of his error. Landing in Normandy with 30,000 men (August, 1415), he gave battle to a much superior force of the French at Agincourt. On this occasion, he fought on foot, distinguished by a crown surmounting his helmet. Eighteen knights, who had bound

themselves to kill him or take him prisoner, advanced upon him at once. One of them, by a stroke of his mace, brought the king to his knees; but he was rescued by his guards, and all the knights were slain. The French commander, the Duke of Alençon, fought his way to the royal standard, beat down the Duke of York, and clove the crown on the king's helmet, but was then slain by the English, although Henry generously held out his hand to save him. The most effective part of the English army was the band of archers, who showered arrows a cloth-yard long upon the French chivalry, and killed vast numbers. The English gained a complete victory, which was sullied by the king afterwards ordering a massacre of his prisoners, under the apprehension that an attempt was to be made to rescue them. The war was carried on for some years longer, and Henry would have probably succeeded in making good his claim to the French crown, if he had not died prematurely of a dysentery (August 31, 1422), in the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving the throne to an infant nine months old, who was proclaimed as HENRY THE SIXTH, King of France and England.

HENRY VI

56. Under Henry VI., whose power was for some time in the hands of his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, the English maintained their footing in France for several years, and at the battle of Verneuil, in 1424, rivalled the glory of Cressy and Poitiers. At that conflict, a body of Scotch, seven thousand strong, who had proved of material service to the French, were nearly cut off. In 1428, when France seemed completely sunk beneath the English rule, the interests of the native prince were suddenly revived by a simple maiden, named Joan of Arc, who pretended to have been commissioned by heaven to save her country, and, entering into the French army, was the cause of several signal reverses to the English. By her enthusiastic exertions, and the trust every where reposed in her supernatural character, Charles VII. was crowned at Rheims, in 1430. Being soon after taken prisoner, the heroic maiden was, by the

English, condemned for witchcraft, and burnt. Nevertheless, about the year 1453, the French monarch had retrieved the whole of his dominions from the English, except Calais.

57. Henry VI. was remarkable for the extreme weakness of his character. His cousin, Richard, Duke of York, descended from an elder son of Edward III., and therefore possessed of a superior title to the throne, conceived that Henry's imbecility afforded a good opportunity for asserting what he thought his birthright. Thus commenced the famous *Wars of the Roses*, as they were called, from the badges of the families of York and Lancaster, the former of which was a white, while the latter was a red rose. In 1454, the duke gained a decisive victory over the forces of Henry, which were led by his spirited consort, Margaret of Anjou. In some succeeding engagements, the friends of Henry were victorious; and at length, in the battle of Wakefield (December 24, 1460), the forces of the Duke of York were signally defeated, and himself, with one of his sons, put to death. His pretensions were then taken up by his eldest son Edward, who, with the assistance of the Earl of Warwick, gained such advantages next year, that he assumed the crown. Before this was accomplished, many thousands had fallen on both sides. Henry, who cared little for the pomp of sovereignty, was confined in the Tower.

58. During the reign of Henry VI., the franchise of electing members of Parliament was first narrowed. By a statute in the 8th year of that reign, which complains that elections are often made by "very great outrages, and excessive numbers of people," it is enacted, that none shall vote in the election of members for the counties, but freeholders possessing estates valued at forty shillings of rent. To understand why such a measure should have been passed with calmness, and without any objection, it is necessary to reflect that a seat in Parliament was then by no means so eagerly sought, or considered so very honourable, as it is now. The members certainly sometimes obtained redress of grievances; but the ostensible purpose for which they were called, was to tax their constituents. Those who elected them were,

moreover, obliged to support them with wages; and, in many cases, only those to whom the wages were an object, could be got to attend. In general, it was more the interest of the king to get the Parliament to meet, than of the body to assemble; and constituencies often prayed that they might be excused the burden of sending representatives, sometimes alleging their poverty, sometimes their distance from the seat of government, and sometimes that they could prevail on no one to undertake the duty. When the last excuse was used, the sheriff was sometimes instructed to force some one to attend.

59. The members of the House of Peers were not less anxious to be rid of the burden of attending Parliament. The excuses recorded are manifold—bad health, poverty, and the necessity of attending to their own concerns: a bishop on one occasion pleaded his extreme fatness. But Parliament had evidently begun to grow powerful and popular in the days of Henry VI., although, probably, the people did not take so deep an interest in elections as to oppose the limitation of the franchise, which the court, more far-sighted, probably proposed. Notwithstanding an act, which may appear at this time of a narrowing and aristocratical nature, the Parliaments of this reign continued to increase the popular power. The privileges of the Commons were enlarged, particularly in regard to freedom of speech, and liberty from arrest. The latter was claimed both for themselves and their servants, as it still is by the Speaker of the House of Commons, although some time ago abolished as respects servants. The freedom from arrest came to be extended to cases of crime; but this likewise has been abolished.

JAMES I.—JAMES II.—JAMES III. OF SCOTLAND

60. Scotland, in the mean time, had redeemed her king from his captivity in England. He began to reign (1424) under the name of JAMES THE FIRST, and soon after married Jane Beaufort, a daughter of the Duke of Somerset, with whom he had fallen in love while a prisoner in the Tower. During his confinement, he had received an excellent education, and he was now perhaps the most accom-

plished prince of his time. He wrote English poetry in a style superior to any of his contemporaries, and, besides being a composer of music, played skilfully on several instruments. His more solid qualities made him a distinguished legislator and reformer, and he exerted himself actively to turn the Scottish constitution to the model of that of England. The Parliament, which had existed since the thirteenth century, sat in one body, as the English Parliament originally had done. The king endeavoured to divide it into two bodies, the Lords and Commons; but without success. James also did much to reduce the Highlands to an obedience under the Scottish government, and to break up the enormous power of the nobles. By these proceedings, he excited a deep hatred in the bosoms of some of his subjects, and a conspiracy was formed against his life. While he was residing at the Blackfriars' Monastery in Perth (1437), the conspirators, headed by one Robert Graham, entered his apartments by night. It is related that one of his queen's ladies, named Elizabeth Douglas, finding that a wooden bolt had been treacherously removed to give them admission, endeavoured to stop their progress by thrusting her arm into the vacant staples. The bone was broken in a moment, and the assailants rushed in. The king found a momentary refuge in a cellar below his apartment, but was discovered and cruelly slain. The murderers were soon afterwards seized, and put to death under circumstances of the greatest barbarity.

61. JAMES THE SECOND, the infant son of the late king, succeeded to the crown. His reign was chiefly distinguished by a harassing contention with the powerful house of Douglas, which at one time seemed likely to gain an ascendancy over monarchy itself. On one occasion, holding a personal conference with the Earl of Douglas in Stirling Castle, the king was so enraged at the insolence of his noble, that, drawing his dagger, he stabbed him to the heart. Afterwards engaging in hostilities against England, King James II. was killed by the accidental bursting of a cannon (1460), while engaged in besieging Roxburgh Castle.

62. His son, JAMES THE THIRD, was a boy when he succeeded to the throne. On growing up, he proved a man

of weak character—fond of the fine arts, particularly of architecture, but much given to favourites, and at the same time obstinate and headstrong. His favourites were generally of low birth, which provoked his nobles so much, that they combined, and by force removed these men from the king's presence, and hanged some of them without ceremony over a bridge. The king had several brothers, who proved a source of considerable trouble to him. There is little reason to doubt that one of these, named the Earl of Marr, was put privately to death at the command of the king. At length (1488), an extensive combination was formed against this wretched monarch, at the head of which was his own son, a youth of sixteen years of age. He met these opponents in battle at Sauchieburn, in Stirlingshire, and, seeing the day going against him, turned and fled. Being thrown from his horse, and carried insensible into a neighbouring mill, he was there found by one of his enemies, and quietly pierced with a dagger. These circumstances give a vivid idea of the insecure condition of princes in that age, and of the inferior tone of morality by which themselves and their children were governed.

HOUSE OF YORK—EDWARD IV.

63. EDWARD IV., who commenced his reign in the nineteenth year of his age, was accounted one of the handsomest men of his time. He was brave, active, and enterprising, but profligate in his manners, and extremely cruel. Remembering the slaughter of his father and brother, he was not disposed to extend the least mercy to the Lancastrian party, either in battle, or after they had fallen into his power.

64. Henry VI. had still many friends in England, and the kings of France and Scotland were favourable to him. His consort, Margaret, was indefatigable in her efforts for his restoration. Having mustered an army of 60,000 men in Yorkshire, she met the forces of Edward at Towton (March 29, 1461), and experienced a complete overthrow. The queen with her husband retired into Scotland, where they experienced a kind reception. Afterwards leaving him

there, she proceeded to France, and, obtaining an aid of 5000 men, returned to England; but her party was once more defeated at Hexham, and she and her son were for some time houseless wanderers. Meeting some robbers in a forest, they were plundered of what they had, and the queen escaped with difficulty from their hands. Afterwards, seeing a single robber approach her with a drawn sword in his hand, she gave herself up for lost, but on the contrary found in him a friend and protector, and was conducted by him to the coast, whence she escaped to Flanders. Henry spent a twelvemonth in concealment in Lancashire, but was at length taken, and thrown into the Tower, where he remained for several years.

65. In 1465, Edward married a widow, a beautiful woman named Elizabeth Woodville, the daughter of a private gentleman, and widow of Sir John Grey. He thus gave offence to the Earl of Warwick, who was engaged at the time in negotiating a marriage for him with the Princess of Savoy. A proper opportunity arriving, Warwick rose in rebellion against him, in conjunction with the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence. At first they were unsuccessful, and found it necessary to withdraw to France. There, by the mediation of the French king, Queen Margaret was reconciled to the Earl of Warwick, who had twice driven her from England, imprisoned her husband, and destroyed vast numbers of her former friends. On her behalf, he made a descent upon England, and quickly gathering a great army, saw himself in eleven days master of the kingdom, from which Edward was obliged to fly.

66. Henry VI. was now restored (1470), and King Edward attainted as a traitor and usurper. The Yorkists lost lands and rank, and the Lancastrians were replaced in their possessions. The Earl of Warwick, who seemed to have the power of filling and emptying thrones at his pleasure, obtained the popular nickname of the *King-Maker*. But the good fortune of the Lancastrian party lasted only a few months.

67. In March, 1471, Edward, assisted by the Duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and with a rapidly increasing army advanced to the

capital, which opened its gates to him. Warwick met him with an inferior force at Barnet, near London, and experienced a complete defeat. The King-Maker, his brother, and 10,000 men, were left dead on the field. Queen Margaret, then newly arrived from France, gathered another army, which was in like manner overthrown at Tewkesbury. On this occasion 3000 men were slain; and what marks the barbarism of the time, twenty persons of distinction, of the Lancaster party, were immediately after dragged from a church, where they had taken refuge, and put to death. With this battle terminated the wars of the two roses, which are said to have cost England 100,000 men. Soon after the fight, Henry VI. and his son Prince Edward were murdered in cold blood. Queen Margaret, who had fought battles for her family in almost every province of England, was ransomed by the King of France, in which country she spent the rest of her life in peace.

68. The only political event worthy of notice, which occurred during the remainder of Edward's reign, was the disgraceful murder of the Duke of Clarence, brother of the king. Edward having contracted a fear of his brother, caused him, on a mere pretext, to be arrested and tried as a traitor. Being condemned to death, the duke was taken to the Tower, and there privately murdered (1478). It is said that, being allowed to choose the manner of his death, he preferred being drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine.

69. The private life of the king was marked by the grossest vices. Particular notice has been taken of an unfortunate woman, named Jane Shore, whom he induced to leave her husband, a citizen of London, in order to live in splendid degradation at court. This woman possessed great beauty, and her mind was naturally formed for a life of virtue; but she had been unable to resist the temptations of a royal lover. After his death, she suffered grievous persecutions, and was obliged to do penance in public, by walking barefooted through the streets of London. One who saw her many years afterwards, describes her as being then decrepit and shrivelled, and living in the most abject wretchedness. It is said that she died in a ditch, at the place which still bears her name in the city of London.

70. During the reign of Edward IV., the plague frequently broke out in England, and carried off immense numbers of the people. It was particularly fatal in London, and in all other places where many houses were huddled closely together, with imperfect means of cleaning and ventilation. It was calculated that the disease, on one occasion in this reign, destroyed as many lives as the fifteen years' war. The plague did not cease to occur in England, or in any other European country, until considerable improvements had taken place in the habits of the people, especially in point of cleanliness.

71. It appears to have been in the reign of Edward IV., or perhaps at the conclusion of that of Henry VI., that printing was introduced into England. The earliest known book printed in England was a small chronicle, done with wooden types at Oxford in the year 1468. William Caxton, a citizen of London, was the first who printed with metal types. This art, which had been invented in Germany about twenty years before, and was destined to work a great change amongst European nations, was not much cultivated in England till the reign of Henry VIII., when the Scriptures were first printed in English. The art was introduced into Scotland in 1508, and into Ireland about 1551.

EDWARD V.—RICHARD III.

72. Edward IV. died in April 1483, in the forty-second year of his age, leaving two sons and six daughters. His eldest son, a boy of eleven years of age, succeeded to the throne, under the title of EDWARD THE FIFTH. The young king was left under the guardianship of his mother's brother, the Earl of Rivers; but this lady's relations were odious to the older nobility, who regarded them as upstarts. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, brother of the late king, found no difficulty in causing himself to be appointed Protector of the Realm. He arrested Rivers; obtained possession of the young king's person, and also of the younger prince, the Duke of York; and then proceeded to devise means for obtaining the crown for himself. He first spread reports of the illegitimacy of the children of Edward IV. Then he

caused several of the young king's friends, including the Earl of Rivers, to be beheaded. By the aid of the Duke of Buckingham, a highly popular nobleman, he succeeded in his main design, and was proclaimed king (June, 1483), under the title of **RICHARD THE THIRD**.

73. Though Richard's history has been written only by his enemies, there can be little doubt that he was, as they represent, a remorseless wretch, who scrupled at no means for gaining the objects of his ambition. He was hunch-backed, and otherwise of ungainly form; but these peculiarities would have been less remarked in his case, if he had not been a most accomplished hypocrite, and a merciless slayer of his own kindred. While his two nephews lived, he felt that his crown could not be safe. He therefore deliberately took measures for destroying these unfortunate children, whose persons he had for some time secured in the Tower. Sir Robert Brackenbury, the governor of that prison, was ordered to dispatch them, but he answered that he knew not how to imbrue his hands in innocent blood. He was then commanded to give up his charge for one night to Sir James Tyrrel. This wretch introduced three associates by night into the chamber where the young princes were sleeping. They smothered them with the bolster and pillows, and then buried their bodies at the bottom of the stair. Their bones were found there nearly two hundred years after, and, by order of Charles II., removed to Westminster Abbey. Tyrrel was executed in the next reign for another crime.

74. Richard was generally abhorred, notwithstanding some acts designed to obtain popularity. His friend, the Duke of Buckingham, being offended by the refusal of a favour, became his enemy, and raised a rebellion against him; but the attempt was premature, and Buckingham, being taken by the king, was immediately put to death. By his queen, who was the widow of Edward Prince of Wales, Richard had one son, a youth of twelve years, who died in 1484. The queen not being likely to have any more children, Richard is believed to have caused her to be poisoned, in order that he might marry his own niece Elizabeth, whose title to the throne was looked on with favour

by the people. This proposed match was regarded with horror by the princess, but is said to have been favoured by her mother. It was frustrated by an event which soon after took place.

75. The pretensions of the house of Lancaster were now considered as resting in Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was descended, through a female line, from a person of doubtful legitimacy, a younger son of John of Gaunt, father of Henry IV. This young nobleman had long been in exile, when the atrocities of Richard III. caused the affections of the English people to be generally turned to him. With some aid from the King of France, he effected a landing at Milford Haven, in Wales (April, 1485), with about 2000 men. Richard immediately advanced to give him battle, and the two parties met at Bosworth in Leicestershire, Richard having about 12,000 men, and Richmond little more than half that number. In the midst of the conflict, the inequality was turned to the other side by Lord Stanley joining Richmond with 7000 men. The king fought desperately, and made a furious charge at Richmond, killing one gentleman and beating down another, but was himself overpowered and slain, after which his party made no longer any resistance. His crown, being found in the field, was placed on the head of Richmond, who was then proclaimed king, under the title of HENRY THE SEVENTH.

HOUSE OF TUDOR—HENRY VII.

76. The crown was soon after settled in Henry and his heirs by act of Parliament; but he nevertheless still considered his title as imperfect, seeing that senior branches of the royal family were yet in existence. To strengthen his title, he married (January, 1486) the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., who, by birthright, was the real heir to the throne. It was said that, by this marriage, the houses of York and Lancaster were united.

77. Under Henry VII., the country revived from the evils of a long civil war, in the course of which the chief nobility had been broken down, and the industry and com-

merce of the land interrupted. It was remarkable, nevertheless, that, during the past period, England was upon the whole an improving country. The evils of war had fallen chiefly on those who made it; the government, however disturbed by various claimants of the throne, was mild and equitable—at least as compared with that of other countries; and the people thrived under a system in which their own consent, by the voice of the House of Commons, was necessary to the making of every new law, and the laying on of every tax. It was remarked at this time by Sir John Fortescue, an exiled English judge, that the comparatively despotic monarchy of France produced oppressions and grievances, from which the English subject was exempt. According to this lawyer, the sovereign of England held his power from and in behalf of the people, and not from any abstract right, as was pretended by other kings. This idea could probably never have arisen, but for the repeated breaks in the succession which have already been described. The usurpations; which had occasioned so much civil war and bloodshed, had transferred a great deal of power from the hands of the few to the many, and gradually paved the way for the freedom which now prevails.

78. The reign of Henry VII. was much disturbed by insurrections, in consequence of his imperfect title. Some friends of the house of York, rather than want a claimant on that side, set up a baker's boy, named Lambert Symnel, to personate the son of the late Duke of Clarence; and an army of about 8000 men was led into the field to assert his pretensions to the crown. This force was defeated at Stoke, in Northamptonshire (June, 1487), and Symnel being taken, was contemptuously appointed by the king to be one of his menial servants. A similar pretender, named Perkin Warbeck, but affecting to be Richard, Duke of York, the younger brother of Edward V., set up his claims (1493), and received great encouragement in Ireland, Flanders, and Portugal, by means of which he landed with a considerable force at Deal, but was defeated and obliged to re-embark. This youth, who is said to have been the son of a Jew, next found refuge in Scotland, where James IV., a young and gallant sovereign, was now reigning. James gave to Perkin

in marriage a young lady connected with the royal family, and undertook an expedition into the north of England, in favour of his pretensions. This enterprise failed entirely in its object, and the Scottish king soon after deserted the cause of the impostor. Perkin subsequently raised a formidable insurrection in the southern counties of England; but, when about to encounter the royal forces, deserted his army, and took refuge in a monastery, where, according to the ideas of that age, his person was secure from every earthly power. Here he may be said to have been besieged by the royal army, who, though they could not touch him within the building, were yet able to starve him into a surrender. Perkin capitulated, and was brought to London, where a pretence was soon found for hanging him (November 23, 1499) at Tyburn.

79. Almost at the same time, Henry procured, by forms of law, the death of the Earl of Warwick, the real son of the late Duke of Clarence, a poor idiot boy, whom he had kept fifteen years in confinement, and whose title to the throne, being superior to his own, rendered him uneasy. Henry also, in the same manner, destroyed his own step-father, Sir William Stanley, one of the individuals who had chiefly aided him in obtaining the throne of England. It will be seen with surprise, that it was not till a somewhat later period that the sovereigns of England began to have scruples about putting their relations to death.

80. Henry, though a cruel prince, as were most of the sovereigns of his age, was a sagacious and peaceful ruler. He paid great attention to all his affairs, and, in some of his acts, looked far beyond the present time. For example, by marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland, he provided for the possibility of the future union of the two crowns. By a law allowing men of property to break entails, he ensured the reduction of the great lords, and the increase of the number of small proprietors. His constant policy was to depress the chief nobles, and to elevate the clergy, lawyers, and men of new families, as most likely to be dependent on him. The greatest fault of his character was his excessive love of money. To the gathering of wealth, much of his policy was directed. His favourite mode of

punishment was by imposing fines, the profits of which he put into his own coffers. He had passed a law imposing fines for the keeping of too many liveried retainers. Once, when he was entertained by his favourite general, the Earl of Oxford, at the Castle of Henningham, he observed a great number of such persons drawn up in two lines to do him honour as he left the house. He affected to suppose that they were only menials; but the earl informed him that his fortune was too narrow to allow of his having so many servants—they were retainers who had come to do him service on this extraordinary occasion. "By my faith," said the king, "I thank your lordship for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight." The mean-spirited monarch accordingly prosecuted the case, and obliged his over-kind host to pay 15,000 marks as a composition for his offence. By such acts, Henry prospered so much, that, at his death, the enormous sum of £1,800,000 was found in his repositories, being equal to about sixteen millions of modern money.

81. Henry VII. was reigning in England, when the King and Queen of Castile enabled Christopher Columbus to sail with a small expedition in quest of a new passage to the Indies (1492). Columbus performed two voyages, and discovered many of the West India Islands. This roused a spirit for similar enterprises throughout Western Europe. In 1497, Sebastian Cabot, of Bristol, sailed from England, and was the first to discover and land upon the American Continent, which Columbus did not do till his third voyage in the ensuing year.

POYNING'S LAW IN IRELAND.

82. During the wars of the roses, the great Anglo-Irish families had generally supported the house of York; but, as might be expected, where the chieftains were so powerful, and the laws so weak, their wars were conducted more on their own account than on that of any claimant of the English crown. After the accession of Henry, many of these restless chieftains were distinguished by their support of the impostor Lambert Symnel. To attach them more

firmly to the English crown, the celebrated Statute of Drogheda was passed in 1495. It received the designation of *Poyning's Law*, from the name of the Lord Deputy under whose administration it was passed. Its most memorable enactment prohibited any Parliament being held in Ireland, until the king should be certified by his lieutenant of the causes of calling the Parliament, and of the measures intended to be brought forward in it, and should have given his consent in council to the holding of the Parliament. The legislative body of Ireland was thus brought under the executive government of England, and the turbulent Anglo-Irish barons were prevented from uniting themselves into a body which might resist the English government. Poyning's law also enacted that all statutes "lately" passed in England should be law in Ireland; and in interpretation of this, the whole of the English statute law, prior to the eighteenth year of Henry VII., was transplanted to Ireland, while the later English statutes, down to the period of the Union, have only been law in Ireland in as far as they were confirmed by the Irish Parliament. By other enactments of Poyning's law, the warlike followers of the nobility were limited, and crimes were to be punished with the formalities of law, instead of the spirit of private revenge.

HENRY VIII.

83. Henry VII. died in April, 1509, in the fifty-third year of his age. When on his deathbed, a repentant feeling took possession of him, and he released all prisoners for debts under forty shillings throughout his dominions, paying their debts out of his own pocket. He also commanded his son to make restitution to all men whom he had wronged by his extortions; but this order was little attended to.

84. His eldest surviving son and successor, HENRY THE EIGHTH, was now in his eighteenth year. Young, handsome, and supposed to be amiable, he enjoyed at first a high degree of popularity. The first two years of his reign were spent in almost uninterrupted festivities, by which much of his father's wealth was dissipated. He then engaged in a coalition of European powers against France; the first

instance of an English monarch involving himself in continental politics. In his hostilities against France, he did not experience much success.

85. His brother-in-law, James IV. of Scotland, having embraced the cause of France, made an irruption into England, during the absence of Henry. He was posted on Flodden Hill in Northumberland, when the Earl of Surrey approached with an army of English militia to give him battle. The Scottish king was governed rather by the romantic notions of chivalry than by the maxims of ordinary warfare. He therefore declined to take an advantage which his position gave him over Surrey, and met the English army on an open field (September 9, 1513). The consequence was the destruction of himself and a large part of his army, including most of his nobility. Henry VIII. next year made peace with France.

86. About this time, the confidence of the king began to be chiefly placed in Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, a man of humble origin, being the son of a butcher in Ipswich, but who rose to be chancellor and prime minister of England, the Pope's legate, and a cardinal. The king, having squandered his father's wealth, was anxious to obtain money from his subjects; and in this business he trusted entirely to Wolsey. Finding some difficulty in the House of Commons, the cardinal went there in person to remonstrate, but was told that none could be allowed to speak in that house except such as were members. They granted him only the half of what he asked. He then endeavoured to enforce a *benevolence* throughout the country, using the king's prerogative as an authority; but by these means he only excited an universal spirit of discontent, which in several places broke out in rebellion. Wolsey, finding he had lost the king's favour in some degree by the ill success of his schemes, made an effort to regain it by presenting him with his splendid palace of York Place, in Westminster. We thus see, that, though the king appeared to enjoy almost despotic authority, it was still in some degree controlled by the popular spirit and the forms of the constitution.

87. About this time some changes of great importance

to European society took place. Almost ever since the destruction of the Roman empire, the nations which arose out of it had remained in subjection to the papal see, which might be said to have inherited the universal sway of that government, but altered from an authority over the bodies of men to an empire over their minds. In the opinion of many, this authority of the Roman Catholic religion had, in the course of time, become much abused, while the religion itself was corrupted by many superstitious observances. So long as men had continued to be the thoughtless warriors and unlettered peasants which they had been in the middle ages, it is not probable that they would ever have called in question either the authority of the Pope or the purity of the Catholic faith. But, with knowledge, and the rise of a commercial and manufacturing class, came a disposition to inquire into the authority of this great religious empire. The art of printing, discovered about the middle of the preceding century, and which was now rendering literature accessible to most classes of the community, tended greatly to bring about this revolution in European intellect. The minds of men, indeed, seem at this time as if awaking from a long sleep; and it might well have been a question with persons who had reflection, but no experience, whether the change was to turn to evil or to good.

88. When men's minds are in a state of preparation for any great change, a very small matter is required to set them in motion. At Wirtemberg, in Germany, there was an Augustine monk, named Martin Luther, who became incensed at the Roman see, in consequence of some injury which he conceived to have been done to his order, by the Pope having granted the privilege of selling indulgences to the Dominican order of friars. Being a man of a bold and inquiring mind, he did not rest satisfied till he had convinced himself, and many others around him, that the indulgences were sinful, and that the Pope had no right to grant them. This happened about the year 1517. Controversy and persecution gradually extended the views of Luther, till he at length openly disavowed the authority of the Pope, and condemned some of the important peculiarities of the Catholic system of worship. In these proceed-

ings, Luther was countenanced by some of the states in Germany, and his doctrines were speedily established in the northern countries of Europe.

THE REFORMATION.

89. Henry VIII., as the second son of his father, had been originally educated for the church, and still retained a taste for theological learning. He now distinguished himself by writing a book against the Lutheran doctrines ; and the Pope was so much pleased with it as to grant him the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Henry was not destined, however, to continue long an adherent of the Roman pontiff. In the year 1527, he became enamoured of a young gentlewoman named Anne Boleyn, who was one of his wife's attendants. He immediately conceived the design of annulling his marriage with Catherine, and marrying this younger and more agreeable person. Finding a pretext for such an act in the previous marriage of Catherine to his brother, he attempted to obtain from the Pope a decree, declaring his own marriage unlawful, and that the dispensation upon which it had proceeded was beyond the powers of the former Pope to grant. The Pontiff (Clement VII.) was much perplexed by this request of King Henry, because he could not accede to it without offending Charles V., Emperor of Germany, one of his best supporters, and the brother of Queen Catherine, and at the same time humbling the professed powers of the Papacy, which were now trembling under the attacks of Luther.

90. Henry desired to employ the influence of his minister, Cardinal Wolsey, who had now reached a degree of opulence and pride never before attained by a subject of England. But Wolsey, with all his greatness, could not venture to urge a matter disagreeable to the Pope, who was more his master than King Henry. The process went on for several years, and still his passion for Anne Boleyn continued unabated. Wolsey at length fell under the king's displeasure for refusing to serve him in this object, was stripped of all his places of power and wealth, and, in November 1530, expired at Leicester Abbey, declaring

that, if he had served his God as diligently as his king, he would not thus have been given over in his grey hairs. The uncontrollable desire of the king to possess Anne Boleyn, was destined to be the immediate cause of one of the most important changes that ever took place in England—no less than a total reformation of the national religion. In order to annul his marriage with Catherine, and enable him to marry Anne Boleyn, he found it necessary to shake off the authority of the Pope, and procure himself to be acknowledged in Parliament as the supreme head of the English church. His marriage with Anne took place in 1533, and in the same year was born his celebrated daughter Elizabeth.

91. In 1536, Henry became as anxious to put away Queen Anne as he had ever been to rid himself of Queen Catherine. He had contracted a passion for Jane Seymour, a young lady then of the queen's bed-chamber, as Anne herself had been in that of Catherine. In order to gratify this new passion, he accused Anne of what appears to have been an imaginary fault, and within a month from the time when she had been an honoured queen, she was beheaded (May 19) in the Tower. On the very next day he married Jane Seymour, who soon after died in giving birth to a son (afterwards Edward VI.) His daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, were declared illegitimate by act of Parliament, and therefore excluded from the succession.

92. Hitherto, though professing independence of Rome, Henry still maintained, and even enforced, by severe and bloody laws, the most of its doctrines. He now took measures for altering this system of worship to something nearer the Lutheran model, and also for suppressing the numerous monasteries throughout the country. Being possessed of more despotic power, and, what is stranger still, of more popularity, than any former sovereign of England, he was able to encounter the dreadful risk of offending, by these means, a vastly powerful corporation, which seems, moreover, to have been regarded with much sincere affection and respect in many parts of England. No fewer than six hundred and forty-five monasteries, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chauntries and chapels, ninety

colleges, and a hundred and ten hospitals, enjoying altogether a revenue of one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds, were broken up by this powerful and unscrupulous monarch. He partly seized the revenues for his own use, and partly gave them away to the persons who most actively assisted him, and who seemed most able to protect his government from the effects of such a sweeping reform. By this act, which took place in 1537, the Reformation was completed in England. Yet for many years Henry vacillated so much in his opinions, and enforced these with such severe enactments, that many persons of both religions were burnt as heretics. It was in the southern and eastern parts of England, where the commercial classes at this time chiefly resided, that the doctrines of the Reformation were most prevalent. In the western and northern parts of the country, Catholicism was still predominant; and in Ireland, which was remotest of all from the Continent, the Protestant faith made little or no impression.

93. In that country, the Earl of Kildare, head of the great family of the Geraldines, had held the viceroyalty longer than it was generally permitted to remain in the hands of one man. He became popular among the native chiefs, assumed their manners, and induced many of them to attend his court, more, it was feared, on his own account than on that of the King of England. Having fallen under suspicion, he was directed to appear in London, leaving his government in the hands of a responsible person. For this purpose he chose his son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, whom he left in the possession of arms to avenge his fate, should he suffer from the vengeance of Henry. A false rumour of his being beheaded having reached Ireland, Lord Thomas flew to arms. He burst into the council, attended by several of his savage followers. Cromer, the chancellor, taking him by the hand, and endeavouring to dissuade him from his rash enterprise, was supposed by the Irish to be urging him on, and one who was a harper struck up a martial strain in his praise. The enthusiasm warmed, and spread into a general rising. After several battles, the insurrection was crushed, and Henry treated the country with the utmost severity. Lord Thomas was conveyed to London and exe-

cuted. His five uncles, three of whom had discountenanced his insurrection, were invited to a banquet, and put to death. Henry sought to extinguish the name of the Geraldines; but a youthful member, who received protection from Cardinal Pole, revived it.

94. When Henry threw off the authority of the Pope, it was argued by the native Irish, that as Henry II. first acquired the country by the Pope's permission and directions, so, when a king of England ceased to acknowledge the Pope, he ceased to have any legitimate right to Ireland. George Browne, a follower of Thomas Cromwell, was appointed Primate of Dublin, for the purpose of furthering the Reformation. He found his authority contemned by the clergy, who ridiculed him as a man of low birth. All he was able to accomplish was, to get the act of supremacy passed in a Parliament, from which the proctors of the church were excluded; a measure so merely formal, that the Master of the Rolls wrote to the king that his laws would not be obeyed twenty miles from the capital. The clergy of Archbishop Browne's own cathedral refused to remove the images and relics, and many incumbents of his diocese preferred the giving up of their charges to a denial of the Pope's authority. The O'Briens, O'Neils, and other native chieftains, rose in arms in defence of their religion; but they had a vigorous arm to deal with, and Henry soon more completely subdued Ireland than it had ever been before. The people were obliged, nominally, to submit to his principles of church government, while their hearts remained with the faith of their fathers. Henry now changed his title from "Lord" to "King" of Ireland, and conferred peerages on many of the chiefs who had submitted. ✕

95. After the death of Jane Seymour, Henry married Anne of Cleves, a German princess, with whose person, however, he was not pleased; and he therefore divorced her by an act of Parliament. He next married Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk, but had not been long united to her, when he discovered that she had committed a serious indiscretion before marriage. This was considered a sufficient reason for beheading the unfortunate, queen, and attainting all her relations. Though Henry had

thus murdered two wives, and divorced other two, and become, moreover, a monster in form as well as in his passions and mind, he succeeded in obtaining for his sixth wife (1543), Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer, who, it is certain, only contrived to escape destruction by her extraordinary prudence. Almost all who ever served Henry VIII. as ministers, either to his authority or to his pleasures, were destroyed by him. Wolsey was either driven to suicide, or died of a broken heart; Thomas Cromwell, who succeeded that minister, and chiefly aided the king in bringing about the Reformation—Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, the most virtuous, most able, and most consistent man of his time—the Earl of Surrey, who was one of the most accomplished knights of the age, and the first poet who wrote the English language with perfect taste—all suffered the same fate with Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard.

96. When James IV. died at Flodden, in 1513, the Scottish crown fell to his infant son JAMES THE FIFTH, who struggled through a turbulent minority, and was now a gay, and, upon the whole, an amiable prince. His uncle, Henry VIII., endeavoured to bring him into his views respecting religion; but James, who was much in the power of the Catholic clergy, appears to have wished to become the head of the Popish party in England, in the hope of succeeding, by their means, to the throne of that country. A war latterly broke out between the two monarchs, and the Scottish army having refused to fight, from a dislike to the expedition, James died (December, 1542) of a broken heart, leaving an only child, Mary, who was not above a week old. Henry immediately conceived the idea of marrying his son Edward to this infant queen, by which he calculated that two hostile nations should be united under one sovereignty, and the Protestant Church in England be supported by a similar establishment in Scotland. This project, however, was resisted by the Scots, of whom very few as yet were inclined to the Protestant doctrines. Henry, enraged at their hesitation, sent a fleet and army, in 1544, to inflict vengeance upon them. The Scots endured with great patience the burning of their capital city, and many

other devastations, but still refused the match. The government of Scotland was now chiefly in the hands of Cardinal Beaton, a man of bold and decisive intellect, who zealously applied himself to suppress the reforming preachers, and regarded the English match as likely to bring about the destruction of his religion.

97. Henry died, January 28, 1547, leaving the throne to his only son, a boy of ten years of age, who was immediately proclaimed king under the title of EDWARD THE SIXTH. It was a curious indication of the feeling of absolute power which Henry had acquired, that, by his will, he entailed the crown, failing his son, upon the family of his youngest sister Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, and likewise a curious instance of the lingering privileges of Parliament, that he thought it necessary to procure an act to enable him to do so. In this settlement, reasons connected with religion, or arising from caprice, induced him to overlook the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, his children by Catherine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn, and also the family of his eldest sister, the Dowager Queen of Scots.

98. In the reign of Henry VIII., classical literature first began to be extensively studied. Greek was now for the first time introduced into schools and universities. By the patronage of the king, Wolsey, and others, several new colleges were founded at Oxford and Cambridge. Improvements were made in medicine and surgery, and the College of Physicians was established. Cherries, apricots, pippins, and hops, were for the first time cultivated in England.

EDWARD VI.

99. The young king possessed a good capacity and gentle dispositions. Owing to his youth, his maternal uncle, the Duke of Somerset, became supreme ruler, under the title of Protector. During this reign, the Church of England assumed its present form, and the Book of Common Prayer was composed nearly as it now exists. Somerset, being resolved to effect, if possible, the match between Edward VI. and Mary of Scotland, invaded that country in autumn 1547, and was met at Pinkie, near Musselburgh, by a large

army under the governor, the Earl of Arran. Though the Scots were animated by bitter animosity against the English, against their religion, and against the object of their expedition, they did not fight with their usual resolution, but were defeated, and pursued with great slaughter. Finding them still obstinate in refusing to give up their queen, Somerset laid waste a great part of the country, and then retired. Previously to this period (1546), Cardinal Beaton had been assassinated by private enemies; but the Scots were encouraged to persevere by the court of France, to which they now sent the young queen for protection.

100. The domestic government of Somerset was conducted with considerable mildness, if we except a little rapacity towards the Catholics, exercised for his own advantage, and that of his supporters. He at length sank under the rising influence of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who caused him to be tried and executed. Northumberland, who was secretly a Roman Catholic, was not so mild or popular a ruler. Yet, throughout the whole reign of Edward VI, which was terminated by his death, on the 6th of July 1553, at the early age of sixteen, few were persecuted on account of religion, besides those who denied the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The king was of a merciful disposition; and, though he would not allow his sister Mary the exercise of her own religion, he would beg his ministers to pardon those who were intended for destruction.

LADY JANE GREY—QUEEN MARY.

101. The crown now belonged by birthright to Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. by his first wife Catherine. But Henry had declared Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate, and settled the crown upon the family of his youngest sister, the Duchess of Suffolk. According to this arrangement, the title rested in Lady Jane Grey, a girl of sixteen, of the most gentle and amiable character, and singularly wise and learned for her age. In the hope of her succession, Northumberland had made her the wife of his son, Lord Guilford Dudley. On the 10th of July, four days after the death of Edward, the council proclaimed Lady Jane as queen, an honour

which she by no means coveted. Meanwhile, Mary had been proclaimed by her friends at Norwich, and was soon joined by a considerable body. An army which was sent against her deserted to her standard, and, advancing to London, all opposition gave way before her. Lady Jane Grey renounced the ensigns of royalty, after having only possessed them nine days. She, her father, her husband, and many others of her friends, were immediately committed to the Tower.

102. Mary, who was in her thirty-seventh year, was a person of harsh and merciless character. Before she had reigned a month, she had brought the Duke of Northumberland and several of his associates to the block. Lady Jane Grey and her husband were, some months after, tried and condemned, as guilty of high treason. When this innocent young creature was told that she must prepare for eternity, she did not appear in the least moved. Her youth, beauty, and innocence, had made such an impression on the people, that it was deemed necessary she should suffer within the Tower. As she was going to the scaffold, she met the body of her husband, as it was carried back from the place where he had suffered. She beheld the spectacle, and submitted to her own death, with the most heroic resolution. A few days afterwards, her father, the Duke of Suffolk, was also beheaded.

103. Mary was zealously devoted to the Catholic religion. As far as she durst, she immediately restored it to its former supremacy in England, though professing to grant liberty of conscience to all. A match was formed between her and Don Philip, the eldest son of the Emperor Charles V., and heir of the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies. As Philip was also a zealous Catholic, and likely to possess great power, the English people were alarmed at the alliance, as threatening the complete suppression of the Protestant religion in England; but the measure was effected by means of a liberal use of Spanish gold amongst the members of the legislature. The marriage took place in July 1554, after which the public acts of the state were in the name of Philip and Mary. Next year, Philip, by the resignation of his father, became King of Spain. He soon grew tired of

the society of his morose consort, and withdrew to his own dominions.

104. In the latter part of 1554, the Catholic religion was completely restored, but not without considerable opposition, especially from the Protestant divines. To silence these men, and thereby extinguish heresy in her dominions, appeared to Mary as a religious duty. She therefore commenced that career of persecution which has rendered her name so infamous. Five out of fourteen Protestant bishops, including Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were committed to the flames as heretics, and during the ensuing part of her reign, which was closed by her death (November 17, 1558), nearly three hundred persons suffered in the same manner. These scenes did not take place without exciting much indignation in the minds of Englishmen in general, including even many Catholics; but the royal authority was at all times too great under this line of princes to allow of effectual resistance. Such a persecution, however, naturally fixed in the minds of the British Protestants a hereditary horror for the name of Catholic, which, in its turn, produced many retaliatory persecutions, equally to be lamented. In the latter part of her reign, Mary was drawn by her husband into a war with France, of which the only effect was the loss of Calais, the last of the French possessions of the kings of England. The natural sourness of Mary's temper was increased by this disgraceful event, as well as by her want of children, and she died in a state of great unhappiness.

ELIZABETH.

105. A more auspicious scene opened for England in the accession of ELIZABETH, a princess of great native vigour of mind, and who had been much improved by adversity, having been kept in prison during the whole reign of her sister. From the peculiar circumstances of Elizabeth's birth, her right of succession was denied by all the Catholics at home and abroad. This party considered Mary, Queen of Scots, who was descended from the eldest sister of Henry VIII., and had been brought up in the Catholic faith at the court of France, as their legitimate sovereign. Elizabeth

had no support in any quarter, except among her Protestant subjects. The Pope issued a bull, which, directly or indirectly, pronounced her an usurper, and gave permission to her subjects to remove her from the throne. The court of France professed to consider the Queen of Scots, who had recently been married to the Dauphin, as the Queen of England. Under these circumstances, Elizabeth found no chance of safety except in restoring and maintaining the Protestant religion in her own country, and in seeking to support it in all others where the people were favourable to it. The Scottish nation being now engaged in a struggle with their regent, Mary of Guise, in behalf of Protestantism, Elizabeth gladly acceded to a proposal made by the nobles of that country, and sent a party of troops, by whose assistance the reformed religion was established (1560). In bringing about this change, the chief native leaders were James Stewart, a natural son of King James V., and John Knox, who had once been a friar, but was now a Protestant preacher. As a natural consequence of the obligation which the English queen had conferred upon the Scottish reformers, she acquired an influence over the country which was never altogether lost.

106. About the time when the Scottish Parliament was establishing the reformed religion, Mary of Guise breathed her last, leaving the country to be managed by the reforming nobles. Her daughter, the Queen of Scots, now eighteen years of age, and the most beautiful woman of her time, had in 1559 become the queen-consort of France; but, in consequence of the death of her husband, she was next year left without any political interest in that country. She accordingly, in August 1561, returned to Scotland, and assumed the sovereignty of a country which was chiefly under the rule of fierce nobles, and where the people, from the difference of their religious faith, as well as their native barbarism, were little fitted to yield her the obedience of loyal subjects.

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

107. The change of religion in Scotland was of a more decisive kind than it had been in England. The English

Reformation had been effected by sovereigns, who, while they wished to throw off the supremacy of the Pope, and some of the Catholic rites, desired to give as little way as possible to popular principles. They therefore not only seized the supremacy of the church to themselves, but, by bishops and other dignitaries, made it an efficient instrument for supporting monarchical government. In Scotland, where the Reformation was effected by the nobles and the people, at a time when still bolder principles had sprung up, none of this machinery of power was retained; the clergy were placed on a footing of perfect equality; they were either of them engaged in parochial duties, and only a small part of the ancient ecclesiastical revenues was allowed to them. In imitation of the system established at Geneva, their general affairs, instead of being intrusted to the hands of bishops, were confided to courts formed by themselves. These courts, being partly formed by lay elders, kept up a sympathy and attachment among the community, which has never existed in so great a degree in the English church. What was of perhaps still greater importance, while a large part of the ancient revenues was absorbed by the nobles, a very considerable portion was devoted to the maintenance of parish schools, under the express control of the clergy. These at once formed regular nurseries of Protestant Christians, and disseminated the elements of learning more extensively over this small and remote country than it had ever been over any other part of the world.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

108. Queen Mary, having little power in her own country, was obliged to govern by means of her natural brother, James Stewart, whom she created Earl of Moray, and who was the leader of the Protestant interest in Scotland. Personally, however, she was intimately connected with the great Catholic powers of the Continent, and became a party, in 1564, to a coalition formed by them for the suppression of Protestantism all over Europe. She had never yet resigned her pretensions to the English throne, but lived in the hope, that, when the Catholics succeeded in every where subduing

the Protestants, she should attain that object. Elizabeth, who enjoyed only the support of the Protestant part of her subjects, with a friendly feeling among the Scots and other unimportant Protestant nations, had the greatest reason to dread the confederacy formed against her.

109. The Queen of Scots possessed, with her great beauty, a quick and shrewd mind; but she was also volatile, and easily carried away by her feelings. Under the influence of a blind passion, she selected, as a second husband, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, a young man of handsome person, but a mere imbecile in character: his only real recommendation was his descent, being the son of the Earl of Lennox, by Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret of England, the widow of James IV. By this means she lost the affections of her brother and some other Protestant nobles, who rebelled against her. On this occasion her lively character was shown by her taking the field in person, on horseback, with pistols at her saddle-bow. The rebel lords, unable to meet her in battle, fled to England, where they received protection from Elizabeth. Her government, nevertheless, was attended with great difficulties. Finding little useful service amongst her own countrymen, she was gradually led to intrust affairs of importance to an Italian named David Rizzio, who had entered her service as a musician, but rose to the office of her French secretary.

110. The favour she showed to this person roused the jealousy of her weak husband. At the same time, the leading Protestants were alarmed at the approach of a Parliament, in which she threatened to effect the forfeiture and complete ruin of the exiled lords. A conspiracy was formed by Darnley and the Protestant leaders against the life of Rizzio. On the evening of the 9th of March, 1566, the secretary was sitting at supper with his mistress, in a small apartment in Holyrood Palace, when Darnley and his associates entered, tore the unfortunate Italian from the queen's side, and stabbed him to death in the next room with fifty-six wounds. Such were the ideas of that age regarding private murder, that even the leading preachers are found to have been concerned in this barbarous deed; believing it justifiable, as being designed for the good of religion.

Darnley's associates expected to make farther use of him in resisting the measures of the queen; but they were disappointed, in consequence of the extreme weakness of his character. The queen easily succeeded in detaching him from their cause; and they were then left exposed to her resentment, while at the same time she saw it necessary to pardon the former rebels. Darnley paid dearly for the vacillation he showed on this occasion.

111. On the 19th of June (1566), Mary became the mother of a prince, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and I. of Great Britain. For several months before and after, she seemed weighed down with grief on account of the folly of her husband. In December, a proposal was made that she should seek a divorce from him; but she expressed great dislike to such a measure, and appeared willing to wait till God should relieve her in the course of nature from the connexion. It appears that, not long after, she became possessed by a passion, resembling infatuation, for the Earl of Bothwell, one of the boldest and most powerful of her nobles, but a man of coarse nature and profligate manners. In February (1567), her husband having been seized at Glasgow with small-pox, she went to him, took him again apparently into favour, and, bringing him to Edinburgh, placed him for his health in a suburban house not far from the palace. Here, on the night of the 15th, he was murdered by emissaries of Bothwell, and the house blown up with gunpowder. A general belief took possession of the public mind, that the queen was accessory to the murder, and this gained force when, after screening Bothwell from a public trial, she made him her husband, only two months after the death of Darnley.

112. The murder was in reality the result of a bond which Bothwell had entered into with some of those lords whom Darnley had formerly offended. The Earl of Moray also knew of it, though he did not take an active part. It is considered likely that the queen was at least aware of the design, though no such guilt has ever been proved against her. When it was seen that Mary, on account of her supposed guilt and her marriage with Bothwell, had become odious to her subjects, the Protestant lords and other leaders

deemed it an excellent opportunity of rising against her, although some of them had actually been concerned in the late murder. A combination was therefore formed, and a force of about 6000 men brought into the field. Mary and Bothwell, with a smaller party, took up a position on the crest of Carberry hill, near Musselburgh, where the associated lords came to a conference with her. In the course of a few hours, most of her men deserted to the other side, and she then surrendered herself into the hands of the lords, on a promise of being respectfully treated (June 1567). Bothwell at the same time left her, and they met no more. Having betaken himself to piracy, he was seized and thrown into prison in Denmark, where he died miserably ten years after.

113. The lords, instead of keeping faith with Queen Mary, imprisoned her in the Castle of Lochleven, and compelled her to sign a document, resigning her authority in favour of her infant son, who was then crowned king, under the name of JAMES THE SIXTH, the Earl of Moray being appointed regent.

114. In May 1568, Mary, having effected her escape from prison, was befriended by a party of her subjects, chiefly composed of the adherents of the Hamilton family. Pity now acted in her favour, and but for the extraordinary vigour of the Regent Moray, her restoration might have been at least temporarily effected. Raising a small body of troops, he met her party at Langside in Renfrewshire, and gained a decisive victory. The queen, who had beheld the conflict from a distance, fled on horseback from the field, and did not stop till she had reached Dundrennan Abbey, on the Solway Firth. She immediately crossed the sea into England, and placed herself under the protection of Elizabeth, by whom she was detained thenceforward as a captive for upwards of eighteen years. By extending at the same time an effectual protection to the regents, Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton, by whom in succession Scotland was governed, the English queen fortified the Protestant interest in that quarter, and thus had one friend the more and one enemy the less in her contentions with the Catholic confederacy.

GOVERNMENT OF ELIZABETH.

115. It has already been seen that the liberties of the people were much favoured by the frequent interruptions in the succession to the crown. Whenever one branch of the Plantagenet family displaced another, the new king, feeling himself weak, endeavoured to strengthen his title by procuring a parliamentary enactment in support of it. It thus became established as a regular principle in the English government, that the people, who were represented in Parliament, had something to say in the appointment of their king. A considerable change, however, had taken place since the accession of Henry VII. The great power acquired by that king, through his worldly wisdom and the destruction of the nobility during the civil wars, had been handed down through four successive princes, who inherited the crown by birthright, and did not require to cringe to the people for a confirmation of their title. The Parliaments, therefore, were now a great deal more under the control of the sovereign than they had formerly been. From an early period of his reign, Henry VIII. never permitted his Parliament to oppose his will in the least. To the various changes of religion under successive sovereigns, the Parliaments presented no obstacle. An idea was now beginning to arise, very much through the supremacy which the sovereigns had acquired over the church, that the right of the crown was one derived from God, and that the people had nothing to do with it, except to obey what it dictated to them. Of this notion, no one took so much advantage, or was at so much pains to impress it, as Elizabeth. No doubt, her arbitrary measures were generally of a popular nature, yet this does not excuse them in principle; and their ultimate mischief is seen in the attempts of future sovereigns to pursue worse ends upon the same means. Elizabeth's government consisted entirely of herself and her ministers, who were, from the beginning to the end of her reign, the very choice of the enlightened men of England. Her prime minister was the celebrated Lord Burleigh, by far the most sagacious man

who ever acted as a minister in Britain ; and all her emissaries to foreign courts were of one complexion—circumspect and penetrating men, devoted to their country, their mistress, and to the Protestant religion.

116. On the accession of Elizabeth, the two celebrated acts of supremacy and conformity were passed, for the purpose of crushing the political influence of the Popish religion ; an end which they sufficiently accomplished. By the act of supremacy, all beneficed clergymen, and all holding offices under the crown, were compelled to take an oath abjuring the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction of any foreign prince or prelate, on pain of forfeiting their offices, while any one maintaining such supremacy was liable to heavy penalties. The other statute was of a less justifiable nature, and afterwards brought forth bitter fruits. It prohibited any one from following any clergyman who was not of the established religion, under pain of forfeiting his goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and of imprisonment during life for the third ; while it imposed a fine of a shilling on any one absenting himself from the established church on Sundays and holidays. By means of a court of ecclesiastical commission, which the queen erected, these laws, and others of a more trifling and vexatious nature, were enforced with great severity. It may afford some idea of the barbarity of the age, and of the terror in which the Church of Rome was now held, that, during the reign of Elizabeth, one hundred and eighty persons suffered death by the laws affecting Catholic priests and converts.

WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS.

117. For more than a century after the Reformation, religion was the real or apparent motive of the most remarkable transactions in European history. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this sentiment, though in general the purest by which human beings can be actuated, is, like all the other higher sentiments of our nature, when offended or shocked, capable of rousing the inferior sentiments into great activity. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

European society was comparatively unenlightened and barbarous: we therefore find that variances of opinion respecting religion were then productive of far fiercer feelings than they are in our own more humane age. The Protestant heresy, as it was termed by the Catholics, was also a novelty, the remote effects of which no man could foretell; it was mingled with political questions, and by some princes was supposed to forebode a general revolt against monarchical authority. We are not therefore to wonder that great cruelties were committed, either by the Catholics in seeking to support the Church of Rome, or by the Protestants in endeavouring to ensure themselves against a renewal of severities inflicted by the opposite party. Nor is it necessary, in the present age, that the adherents of either faith should retain any feeling of displeasure against the other, on account of barbarities which took their rise in the ignorance and rudeness of a former period, and of which the enlightened of both parties have long since disapproved.

118. In the Netherlands, which formed part of the dominions of Philip II. of Spain, the reformed faith had made considerable advances. Philip, like other Catholic princes, entertained the idea that this new creed, besides being condemnable as a heresy and an offence against the Deity, tended to make men independent of their rulers. Finding the people obstinate in their professions, he commenced a war with the Netherlands, for the purpose of enforcing his authority over their consciences. This war lasted about twenty years; for the Netherlands, though a nation of no great strength, fought like desperate men, and endured the most dreadful hardships rather than submit. The chief leader in this war of liberty was William, Prince of Orange, one of the purest and most courageous patriots that ever breathed. Elizabeth could not help wishing well to the Netherlands, though for a long time her dread of Spain, then one of the greatest powers in Europe, prevented her from openly assisting them. At the same time, about two millions of the people of France were Protestants, or, as they were then called, Huguenots, who acted also for the general Protestant cause with as much energy as the great strength of the French government would permit. It was

the general sentiment of the Catholics of that age, that heresy was an evil, the extirpation of which could not be too dearly purchased. Under this feeling, Charles IX. of France caused the massacre of from ten to twenty thousand Protestants at Paris, on St Bartholomew's day (August 24, 1572). Many other cruelties of the same nature were perpetrated by Catholics upon Protestants. Elizabeth at length, in 1578, extended an open protection to the Netherlanders, excusing herself to Philip by stating her fear that they would otherwise throw themselves into the arms of France. The northern provinces were thus enabled to assert their independence, and to form the country which has since been called Holland.

DEATH OF MARY OF SCOTLAND.

119. The severities and threats of the Catholics naturally provoked some retaliation on the part of the Protestants. Elizabeth, as already mentioned, hanged many men for no other crime than that they were Romish priests; being provoked to do so, by the plots which were perpetually forming by men of this class for assassinating her. Her principal victim was the unfortunate Queen of Scots, who had been kept in captivity for nearly nineteen years. The liberation of this princess was generally a part of the schemes of all the enthusiasts who plotted the murder of Elizabeth. A law was at length passed, intended for the destruction of Mary, by which it was declared, that any person, by or *for* whom any plot should be made, against the life of the Queen of England, should be guilty of treason. In 1586, a gentleman named Babington, with some others, contrived a plan for assassinating Elizabeth, and placing Queen Mary on the throne. The plot was discovered by spies—a class of persons of whom great numbers were employed in this reign. The conspirators were seized and executed; and out of the confessions extracted from them by torture, was woven a tissue of pretended evidence, for proving that the Queen of Scots was concerned in the conspiracy. In reality, Mary might have some vague knowledge that such a plot was in agitation; but, as a prisoner detained in defiance of all law,

she was neither called upon to divulge any secret involving the life of Elizabeth, nor was it in her power to prevent any man from entering upon an enterprise in her own favour.

120. Thirty-six commissioners, appointed by Elizabeth, arrived at Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, where Queen Mary was confined, in order to subject one independent princess to a trial for high treason against another ; a proceeding quite unparalleled in history, and which, indeed, was only giving to murder the form of law. Mary protested both against the law upon which she was arraigned, and against the competency of the court, but was at length induced to appear upon trial, lest it should have been supposed that she refused from a consciousness of guilt. "It is impossible," says an English historian, "to read, without admiration, in the minute records of the trial, the self-possessed, prompt, clear, and sagacious replies and remarks, by which this forlorn woman defended herself against the most expert lawyers and politicians of the age, who, instead of examining her as judges, pressed her with the unscrupulous ingenuity of enemies." Upon a mere shadow of evidence, which any lawyer would now pronounce to be not only imperfect but illegal, she was condemned to death, October 25, 1586. Elizabeth had not only public reasons for taking the life of this queen, but was also animated by a deadly hatred against her, on account of the personal superiority of Mary ; yet with detestable hypocrisy she pretended to all around her that she could never be induced to grant the warrant for execution, unless it were seen to be imperatively necessary for the welfare of her country.

121. Accordingly, the kingdom was now filled with rumours of plots, treasons, and insurrections ; and the queen seemed to be continually kept in alarm with fictitious dangers. She assumed the appearance of great terror and perplexity ; sat much alone, and muttered to herself half sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. In this situation, she one day called her secretary, Davidson, whom she ordered to draw out secretly the warrant for Mary's execution, informing him that she intended to keep it beside her, in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess.

She signed the warrant, and then commanded it to be carried to the chancellor, to have the seal affixed to it. Next morning, however, she sent two gentlemen successively to desire that Davidson would not go to the chancellor until she should see him ; and, upon being informed that the warrant had been already sealed, she seemed displeased at his precipitation. But Davidson, who was not ignorant that his mistress wished to have the sentence executed, laid the affair before the council, who unanimously resolved that the warrant should be immediately carried into effect, and promised to justify him to the queen. Accordingly, the fatal instrument was delivered to Beale, the clerk of the council, who summoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, namely, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, and Cumberland, all of whom set out immediately to Fotheringay Castle, accompanied by two executioners, to dispatch their bloody commission.

122. On the 6th of February 1587, Mary was informed of the arrival of these functionaries, who ordered her to prepare for death by eight o'clock the following day. Early on the fatal morning, she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved for this solemn occasion. Thomas Andrew, the under-sheriff of the county, then entering the room, informed her that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied that she was ready ; and, bidding her servants farewell, she advanced, supported by two of her guards, and followed the sheriff with a serene aspect, having a long veil of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. She then passed into another hall, the noblemen and the sheriff going before, and Melville, her master of the household, bearing up her train. In this hall a scaffold was erected, covered with black. As soon as Mary was seated, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution ; and Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, standing without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which she desired him to forbear, as she was firmly resolved to die in the Catholic religion. The room was crowded with spectators, who beheld her with pity and distress ; while her beauty, though dimmed by age and affliction, gleamed

through her sufferings, and was still remarkable in this fatal moment. The two executioners kneeling and asking her pardon, she said she forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as she hoped for forgiveness from her Maker, after which she once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her eyes were then covered with a linen handkerchief, and she laid herself down upon the block without any fear or trepidation. After she had recited a psalm, and repeated a pious ejaculation, her head was severed from her body, at two strokes, by the executioner.

123. Thus died Mary, in the forty-fifth year of her age, the last victim of that spirit in the royal family of England, which prompted them to embrace their hands in each other's blood. Her son was in the mean time grown to manhood, and had assumed the supreme direction of affairs in Scotland, in which, however, he was much controlled by the clergy, who, though they had less apparent power than their brethren in England, were in reality possessed of an influence over the people which set the sovereign at defiance. James made many attempts to assert a control over the church like that enjoyed by the English monarch, and also to introduce an Episcopal hierarchy, but never could attain more than a mere shadow of his object. He had been educated by the regents in the Protestant faith, and was now regarded as heir-presumptive to the English crown.

SPANISH ARMADA.

124. The year 1588 was remarkable in England for the famous enterprise called the Spanish Armada. It was resolved by the King of Spain to hurl a decisive blow at the Protestant interest, by invading England with an immense fleet, the preparation of which had employed all the resources of his kingdom. The ports of Spain, Portugal, and other maritime dominions belonging to him, had long resounded with the noise of his preparations, and the most eminent Catholic soldiers from all parts of Europe flocked to take a share in the expedition.

125. The Marquis of Santa-Croce, a sea-officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the

fleet, which consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of greater size than any that had been hitherto seen in Europe. The Duke of Parma was to conduct the land-forces, twenty thousand of whom were on board the ships of war, and thirty-four thousand more were assembled in the Netherlands, ready to be transported into England; so that, as no doubt was entertained of success, the fleet was ostentatiously styled the Invincible Armada.

126. Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation which seized all ranks of people in England upon the news of this terrible armada being under sail to invade them. A squadron of not more than thirty ships of the line, and those very small in comparison, was all that Elizabeth had to oppose it by sea; and it was considered impossible to make any effectual resistance by land, as the Spanish army was composed of men well disciplined and long inured to danger. But although the English fleet was much inferior in number and size of shipping to that of the enemy, it was much more manageable, while the dexterity and courage of the mariners were greatly superior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great valour and capacity, took upon him, as lord high admiral, the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him; while another squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, commanded by Lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the Duke of Parma. Such was the preparation made by the English; while all the Protestant powers of Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event which was to decide forever the fate of their religion.

127. In the mean time, while the Spanish armada was preparing to sail, the admiral, Santa-Croce, died, as likewise the vice-admiral, Paliano; and the command of the expedition was given to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a person utterly inexperienced in sea affairs; these unexpected circumstances served, in some measure, to frustrate the design. Some other accidents also contributed to its failure. Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the armada next day met with a violent tempest, which sank some of the smallest of the ships, and obliged the rest to put back into the harbour.

After some time spent in refitting, the Spaniards again put to sea, where they took a fisherman, who gave them intelligence that the English fleet, hearing of the dispersion of the armada in a storm, had returned to Plymouth, and that most of the mariners were discharged. From this false intelligence, the Spanish admiral, instead of going to the coast of Flanders, to take in the troops stationed there, resolved to sail directly to Plymouth, and destroy the shipping laid up in the harbour. But Effingham was very well prepared to receive him, and had just got out of port, when he saw the Spanish armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a half-moon, and stretching seven miles from the one extremity to the other. The English admiral, seconded by Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, attacked the Spaniards at a distance, pouring in their broadsides with admirable dexterity. They did not choose to engage the enemy more closely, because they were greatly inferior in number of ships and guns, as well as in weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board such lofty vessels without manifest disadvantage. In this action, however, two Spanish galleons were disabled and taken.

128. As the armada advanced up the Channel, the English still followed and infested its rear; and as their ships continually increased from different ports, they soon found themselves in a capacity to attack the Spanish fleet more nearly, and, accordingly, fell upon them while they were taking shelter in the port of Calais. To increase their confusion, Howard selected eight of his smaller vessels, which, after filling them with combustible materials, he sent one after another, as if they had been fire-ships, into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards, taking them for what they seemed to be, immediately bore off in great disorder; while the English, profiting by their panic, captured or destroyed about twelve ships. The Duke of Medina Sidonia being thus driven to the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that, as their ammunition began to fail, as their fleet had received great damage, and as the Duke of Parma had refused to venture his army under their protection, they should return to Spain by sailing round the Orkneys, as the winds were contrary to their passage directly

back. Accordingly, they proceeded northward, and were followed by the English fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they were terribly shattered by a storm. Seventeen of the ships, having 5000 men on board, were afterwards cast away on the Western Isles and the coast of Ireland. Of the whole armada, fifty-three ships only returned to Spain, and these in a wretched condition. The seamen, as well as the soldiers who remained, were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean by which they were surrounded.

IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH.

129. In Ireland, which was kept much apart from the religious disputes of Europe, the measures of Henry VIII. were disliked more on account of his interfering with the authority of the Pope, than from any change he made in the forms of worship. On the accession of Edward, the proposal of a new liturgy provoked greater jealousy, but this soon passed over, as the liturgy, though introduced, was not rigorously enforced. Under the Catholic Mary, the English government became once more in harmony with the views of the Irish people regarding religion, and the Parliament was of course very ready to repeal all the acts which it had passed in the two preceding reigns.

130. With the death of Mary, this harmony came to an end, for Elizabeth immediately took measures for abolishing the Romish church in Ireland. By means of a Parliament, carefully picked from friends of the crown, the authority of the Pope was suppressed, the prayer-book introduced, and the queen's supremacy established. These acts were attended with great clamour; but the country for a time appeared tranquil. The first disturbance was given by John O'Neill, a man of turbulent and dissipated habits, who was removed, in 1567, by assassination. An invasion from Spain soon afterwards produced a favourable opportunity for a rising; but the country remained comparatively quiet. Under Sir John Perrot, a sagacious and tolerably honest deputy, who

acceded to the administration in 1584, there appeared some promise of a period of tranquillity. He proposed that the English laws should be extended over the country, that fortresses should be garrisoned to keep down disturbances, and bridges and roads formed, in order that the resources of the country might be turned to account. This generous policy did not suit the views of the English statesmen. In those days, men were much disposed to the erroneous notion that, when one nation was allowed to thrive, another must necessarily suffer. It was conceived that, to grant money to achieve Perrot's designs, would be only to pension an enemy, and enable it to prove the more dangerous to England. It was thought the best plan to allow Ireland to weaken itself by internal dissension. The consequence was the protracted civil war known as *Tyrone's Rebellion*.

131. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, a man who must have possessed extremely persuasive and fascinating manners, a heart of deep guile, and an irregular and ill-aimed ambition, had been artful enough to obtain the favour of Elizabeth, as a great friend of the English interest, and an enemy of the native Irish. He even recommended the extinction of his own family name, while he was strengthening its influence; and at the time when he was forming extensive combinations among the native chiefs, he visited the queen in London, and acceded to many plans for preserving the peace of Ireland, which, on his return, he had the art to evade, almost without suspicion. He even fought a battle with his allies, and received a wound as the proof of his integrity. When he could no longer deceive, a general gathering took place throughout the country (1595), and the war was again between Ireland and England as separate nations.

132. The English officers were at first unsuccessful, and met with some serious defeats. In 1599, Tyrone gained so great a victory, that the whole province of Munster declared for him. He then invited the Spaniards to make a descent on Ireland, and join him. The queen sent over her favourite, the Earl of Essex, with 20,000 men; but he did not proceed with vigour, and soon after found it necessary to return to England to justify himself. Next year,

Tyrone broke the truce he had formed with Essex, overran the whole country, and acted as sovereign of Ireland. If Spain had at this time given him the support he asked, Ireland might have been dissevered from the English crown.

133. Elizabeth now selected, as her deputy for Ireland, Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who was in every respect better fitted than Essex to conduct such a warfare. As a preliminary step, this sagacious officer introduced jealousy and disunion among the Irish chiefs. The very celerity of his movements tended to dispirit the insurgents. In 1601, six thousand Spaniards landed in Kinsale harbour, for the purpose of supporting the Irish. Mountjoy immediately invested the place, and prevented them from acting. Tyrone marched from the south of Ireland to their relief, and was met and overthrown by a much inferior English force, after which Kinsale was surrendered. About the time when Elizabeth died (1603), Tyrone submitted, and Ireland was once more reduced under the authority of the English crown. It appears that, during the ten last years of the queen, Ireland was the cause of enormous expense to England. The revenue of the country was not above £120,000; but, during these ten years, the average expense was £340,000. As Elizabeth's entire revenue was much below half a million, we may conjecture that her expense on account of Ireland was considerably more than all the other expenses of her government put together. All this might have been saved, if Sir John Perrot's suggestions had been adopted; and the prosperity of both countries would have at the same time been greater, and much bloodshed prevented.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

134. It is remarkable, that, while Elizabeth increased in power and resources, she became more noted for feminine weaknesses. In her early years she had shown a stoicism, and superiority to natural affections, not usually observed in women. But in her old age, she also became volatile and susceptible to an extraordinary degree; so that the hand which she had withheld, in her younger days, from the noblest princes of Europe, seemed likely to be bestowed, in

her old age, upon some mere court minion. Her favourite in middle life was Robert, Earl of Leicester, a profligate and a trifler. In her latter days she listened to the addresses of the Earl of Essex, a young man of greater courage and better principle, but also headstrong and weak. Essex, who had acquired popularity by several brilliant military enterprises, began at length to assume an insolent superiority over the queen, who was, on one occasion, so much provoked by his rudeness as to give him a hearty box on the ear. Notwithstanding all his caprices and insults, the queen still doatingly forgave him, until he at length attempted to raise an insurrection against her in the streets of London, when he was seized, condemned, and, after much hesitation, executed (February 25, 1601).

135. It is always alleged that the life of Essex would have been saved, if the queen had received from him a ring which she had given him in his happier years as a pledge of her affection, and which she told him would at any time recall her tenderness towards him, however deeply he might have offended her. It is said that Essex gave this ring to the Countess of Nottingham, to be carried to Elizabeth, but that the countess was prevailed upon by her husband, who was an enemy of Essex, to retain it. Elizabeth, in at last ordering the execution of Essex, had acted upon her usual principle of sacrificing her feelings to what was necessary for the public cause; but in this effort, made in the sixty-eighth year of her age, she had miscalculated the real strength of her nature. She was seen from that time to decline gradually in health and spirits. Her distress was increased to a great degree by a deathbed confession of the Countess of Nottingham respecting the ring. The dying woman asked the queen's forgiveness for her treachery, but Elizabeth turned from her, saying, that God might forgive her, but she never could.

136. About the close of 1601, the queen fell into a deep hypochondria or melancholy. She could scarcely be induced to have herself dressed, and refused all food but bread and succory pottage. She would often walk agitatedly in her chamber, stamp on the floor, and pierce the arras with a rusty sword which she usually kept near her. She

would frown much upon her ladies, and chide them fiercely for the smallest faults. At length she became so much absorbed by her sorrow as to refuse sustenance, and sat for days and nights on the floor, supported by a few cushions brought to her by her attendants. On the 24th of March 1603, she expired, after a reign of nearly forty-five years, during which England advanced from the condition of a second-rate to that of a first-rate power, and the Protestant religion was established on a basis from which it could never afterwards be shaken.

137. The reign of Elizabeth saw the commencement of the naval glory of England. Down to the reign of Henry VII., there was no such thing as a navy belonging to the public, and the military genius of the people was devoted exclusively to enterprises by land. The rise, however, of a commercial spirit in Europe, which in 1492 had caused the discovery of America, and was again acted upon by the scope for adventure which that discovery opened up, had latterly caused great attention to be paid to naval affairs in England. Englishmen of all ranks supported and entered into enterprises for discovering unknown territories; and under Drake, Cavendish, Raleigh, and Frobisher, various expeditions of less or more magnitude were sent out. The colonies of North America were now commenced. Amongst the exertions of private merchants, our attention is chiefly attracted by the commencement of the northern whale-fishery, the cod-fishery of Newfoundland, and the less laudable slave-trade in Africa. When hostilities with Spain became more open, the English commanders made many successful attacks upon her colonies in the West Indies, and also upon the fleets of merchant vessels which were employed to carry home the gold, and other almost equally valuable products of the New World, to the Spanish harbours. These attacks were now made in a more systematic manner, and with more effect, as a revenge for the affair of the Armada. It may almost be said that the dominion of Britain over the seas was perfected in one reign; a power which has been of such advantage to the country, both in protecting its commerce, and keeping it secure from foreign invasion, that its origin would have conferred everlasting

lustre on this period of our history, even although it had not been characterised by any other glorious event.

138. The chief articles exported from England to the Continent were wool, cloth, lead, and tin: formerly, these had been sent in vessels belonging to the Hanse Towns—certain ports of the north of Europe, possessing great privileges; but now English vessels were substituted for this trade. Birmingham and Sheffield were already thriving seats of the hardware manufacture, and Manchester was becoming distinguished for making cottons, rugs, and friezes. Stocking-weaving and the making of sail-cloth, serge, and baize, took their rise in this reign. The progress of other arts was much favoured by the bloody persecutions of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, which drove into England great numbers of weavers, dyers, cloth-dressers, and silk-throwers. Amongst the wealthier classes, the wearing of handsome apparel and of gold ornaments and jewellery, made a great advance. Couches were introduced, but for a time thought only fit for the use of ladies. Great improvements were made in the building of houses. Theatrical amusements were begun, and attained great vogue, though only in London. The smoking of tobacco was introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh, who became acquainted with the plant in Virginia. At the end of Elizabeth's reign, the population of London was about 160,000, or a tenth of what it now is; and the whole kingdom probably contained about 5,000,000 of inhabitants.

THE STUARTS—JAMES I.

139. The successor of Elizabeth, by birthright, was JAMES THE SIXTH OF SCOTLAND (styled JAMES THE FIRST OF ENGLAND), who was now arrived at the prime of life, and had been married for some years to the Princess Anne of Denmark, by whom he had two sons, Henry and Charles, and one daughter named Elizabeth. Robert Carey, cousin of the late queen, rode from London to Edinburgh, a journey of four hundred miles, in three days and two nights, in order to inform the King of Scots that Elizabeth was no

more. James immediately removed to London, and assumed the government of England, while his native kingdom, though thus united under the same sovereignty, still retained its own peculiar institutions. At the suggestion of the king, who wished to obliterate the distinction of the two countries, the common name of Great Britain was now conferred upon them.

140. King James was an oddity in human character. His person was naturally feeble, particularly in the limbs, which were scarcely sufficient to support his weight. He had great capacity for learning, some acuteness, and a considerable share of wit; but was pedantic, vain, and weak. His timidity was so great, that he could not endure the sight of a drawn sword. He wrote various treatises on religion and politics, in which there is a show of plausible sense, mixed with absurd notions and childish remarks. He loved hunting, cock-fighting, and wine, and delighted in the society of handsome young men, without any regard to their being of estimable character. Amongst his most cherished notions was a high sense of the kingly character and profession, or, as he called it, craft. He believed kings to be the deputies of God, and accountable to God alone for their actions. He was equally disposed with Elizabeth to govern despotically, or according to his own will; but he wanted the vigour and the turn for popularity which enabled his predecessor to become so much the mistress of her subjects.

141. Notwithstanding the energy of Elizabeth, the popular spirit had gradually been acquiring force in her reign. It was chiefly seen in the acts of the Puritans, a religious party, who wished to make great reforms in the church, both in its government and its worship, and who, from the fervour of their devotions and the strictness of their manners, might be likened to the Presbyterians of Scotland. King James found considerable difficulty at the very first in controlling this party and evading their demands. He was no less troubled, on the other hand, by the Catholics, who, recollecting his mother Mary, conceived that he would be inclined to make matters more easy to them in England. Upon the whole, there were such difficulties in the way as,

to have steered clearly through them, would have required a wiser instead of a weaker ruler than Elizabeth.

142. The king, having a taste for religious controversy, condescended to meet a few of the Puritan divines, in order to argue them out of their peculiar views. This, it may be supposed, was of no use in satisfying them, though the king took to himself the credit of beating them in argument. The only important result of the conference was a resolution to have a new translation of the Bible, which was accordingly effected by a body of learned men, under the authority of the king. This translation is the same which is still in use.

GUNPOWDER PLOT.

143. The disappointment of the Catholics, on finding that the severe laws against them were not to be relaxed, led to a dreadful conspiracy on the part of a few gentlemen of that persuasion, of whom the chief was William Catesby, a person of dissolute habits. It was arranged that, on the day of the meeting of Parliament, November 5, 1605, the House of Lords should be blown up by gunpowder, at the moment when the King, Lords, and Commons, were all assembled in it, thus destroying, as they thought, all their chief enemies at one blow, and making way for a new government which should be more favourable to them. Accordingly, two hogsheds and thirty-two barrels of powder were deposited in the cellars beneath the house, and a person named Guy Fawkes was prepared to kindle it at the proper time. The plot was discovered, in consequence of the receipt of a letter by Lord Mounteagle, warning him not to attend the meeting of Parliament. An investigation took place during the night between the 4th and 5th of November, when the gunpowder was discovered, and Fawkes taken into custody. He confessed his intentions; and the rest of the conspirators fled to the country, where most of them were cut to pieces in endeavouring to defend themselves. Notwithstanding the atrocious character of this plot, the king could never be induced to take advantage of it, as most of his subjects desired, for the purpose of increasing the persecu-

tion of the Catholic party: he probably feared that new severities might only give rise to other attempts against his life.

PLANTATIONS IN IRELAND.

144. The state in which the king found Ireland at his accession, afforded an opportunity for commencing a more generous policy in reference to that country, and introducing regulations favourable to internal improvement. Previously to this reign, the legislative authority of the English government was confined to the small district called "the Pale," while the rest was governed by native sovereigns or chiefs, whose connexion with the King of England was merely that of feudal homage, which did not prevent them from making wars or alliances with each other. During the reign of Henry VIII., only three Irish lords were settled in their possessions by any grant or confirmation of the crown, and even these, it is said, did not admit the forms of the English law within their territories, but governed by the old Brehon laws. It would appear that the authority of the English laws was thus limited, not from the unwillingness of the native Irish to receive them, or of the English legislature to grant them, but from the interference of those English nobles whose families had been naturalised. These, finding Ireland convenient for such purposes, continually harassed the native chiefs, seized their territories, and held them as independent princes. They got districts erected into palatinates, or counties palatine, in which, as lords or counts palatine, they held an exclusive and independent jurisdiction, and granted feus almost in the same manner as absolute monarchs. In England, only one district, Chester, was in a similar situation; but in Ireland, for some time, almost the whole of the part subjected to England was in this manner divided among the Strongbows, Lacys, Geraldines, Butlers, and other powerful families. A great part of Scotland, it may be observed, was ruled in a similar manner, and there the jurisdictions were called regalities.

145. Subject to depredations from these powerful barons,

the native Irish, from a very early period, petitioned for the benefit of the English laws. In 1278, Edward I. showed a willingness to grant such a request, provided he were paid for doing so ; but the Irish Parliament, which was composed of the English barons, was never at a loss for the means of preventing this desirable measure from being effected. James was, in reality, the first king who extended the English law over the whole of Ireland, by making judicial appointments suited to the extent of the country. This he was enabled to do, by the recent wars having put the country more completely in his power than it had been in that of any former monarch. He began by extending favour to the Irish chiefs, not excepting Tyrone. He passed an act of oblivion and indemnity, by which all persons who had committed offences, coming to the judges of assize within a certain day, might claim a full pardon. He likewise granted a commission to accept surrenders of the estates held according to the old Irish customs, and grant them back, to be held by the possessors according to the English law, by which the owners could not make the same exactions from their tenants, or maintain the same absolute authority over them, which they formerly practised.

146. It happened, unfortunately, from the vacillating conduct of James, in manifesting his religious opinions, that the Catholics of Ireland fondly persuaded themselves that he belonged to their religion ; a general joy was exhibited through the kingdom on his accession, and the Romish priests openly took possession of the churches, and officiated in public. James, who, although he cared little about the differences between Catholic and Protestant, could not endure that the Pope should have any authority in his dominions, ordered all priests, by proclamation, to quit the realm, and rigorously enforced the act of supremacy. All toleration was virtually refused to the Catholic persuasion, and from that time the Irish were put under the charge of clergymen of the church of England, for whose support a regular provision was made out of the land.

147. In the year 1607, an anonymous letter, dropped in the Privy-Council Chamber, stated that Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and other chieftains of the north, were engaged in a far-

spread conspiracy. The hint was quickly taken. The chieftains, knowing their danger, fled, and their vast estates were forfeited to the crown. At the suggestion of the king and the celebrated Bacon, these estates were made the subject of an experiment, which might have been beneficial if managed in a less partial spirit. Without regard to the claims of the native inhabitants, the lands, comprising the counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry, Armagh, and Donegal, were distributed among persons divided into three classes :—the first being English or Scottish strangers ; the second, persons who had served in the wars against the Irish, and whose native vassals had come under the oath of supremacy ; and the third, Irish who had not taken the oath of supremacy, but came under other restrictions. The establishing of Plantations, as they were called, whatever might be the final advantage, produced a course of rapacity which cannot be justified. The English judges showed so much readiness to forfeit Irish estates, that the examination of titles for the purpose of discovering flaws, became a profitable employment. Some estates which had been surrendered, according to the late law, had not been formally enrolled in Chancery, from the negligence of the officers, although the money had been paid for the purpose. This was an excellent opportunity of a plantation, and the king and council were proceeding to declare the whole forfeited, when they were checked by some appearance of danger. A compromise was afterwards made with Charles I. at an enormous cost ; but he did not faithfully fulfil his part of the bargain. It must not be omitted, that, in 1613, the first Irish Parliament was held in which there were any representatives of places beyond the Pale.

THE KING'S CHILDREN—THE SPANISH MATCH.

148. In 1612, the king had the misfortune to lose his eldest son, Henry, a youth of nineteen, who was considered as one of the most promising and accomplished men of the age. The second son, Charles, then became the heir-apparent, and James was busied for several years in seeking him out a proper match.

149. The princess selected by his majesty was the second daughter of Philip III. of Spain—a match not very popular, on account of the young lady being a Catholic, but which James thought advantageous, as tending to conciliate the people of that religion, and also because the princess belonged to one of the most powerful houses in Europe. Some delay occurring in the negotiations, the prince set out in 1622, with his young friend the Duke of Buckingham, to visit the court of Spain in disguise, and, if possible, make personal application to the lady herself. The prince and duke travelled under the name of John and Thomas Smith, probably because these were then, as well as now, the most common and undistinguishing names in England. At Madrid, the prince was received with great distinction under his proper character. The chivalrous nature of the expedition had great fascinations for the Spanish court and people. Numerous splendid pageants were performed in his honour, and he was admitted to more ready intercourse with the princess, than was ever before permitted by the jealous and solemn court of Spain. Many negotiations of different kinds were conducted for the furtherance of this match, and communications passed between the Pope and the prince, which showed that the latter had no great antipathy to the Roman Catholic faith. The match was, however, after much delay, broken off, for reasons which have hitherto remained a deep mystery. It is believed by some that neither party was ever sincere, and by others that the breach was simply occasioned by a quarrel between Buckingham and Olivarez, the prime minister of Spain, a man as proud and overbearing as Buckingham, and more gloomy and vindictive. This matter, which, in the course of the history of such a nation as Britain, would be trifling in itself, is important from having been the cause of a bloody war between the two nations.

150. Elizabeth, the only remaining child of the king, was married, in 1613, to Frederick, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, who was afterwards so unfortunate as to lose his dominions, in consequence of his placing himself at the head of the Bohemians, in what was considered as a rebellion against his superior, the Emperor of Germany. This dis-

crowned pair, by their youngest daughter Sophia, who married the Duke of Brunswick, were the ancestors of the family which now reigns in Britain.

FEATURES OF JAMES I.'S GOVERNMENT.

151. The reign of James I. was not marked by what are called great events. This was greatly owing to his timid character, which induced him to maintain peace, at whatever sacrifice, throughout the greater part of his reign. For the first few years, he had the benefit of the services of Cecil, the sagacious minister of Elizabeth; but after his death (1612), the prime leaders of the government were those youthful favourites to whose society the king was so much addicted. The first of these was Robert Carr, of a good family in Scotland, a young man of singularly elegant person, but of a low and vicious nature. This youth was created by the king Earl of Somerset, but he at length brought about his own fall by the odium which he incurred through a criminal attachment to the Countess of Essex, and through a murder of which he and the countess were guilty. Somerset was succeeded by George Villiers, a young man of not less beauty, and somewhat better character, whom the king raised to the dignity of Duke of Buckingham. Experienced statesmen, brave soldiers, and learned divines, had to bow to these dissolute youths, if they wished to remain, and still more if they hoped to advance, in the royal favour. Even Bacon, the noblest intellect of the age, and who, by the result of his studies, has done more than almost any other man to promote the progress of knowledge, is found to have attached himself to Buckingham, for the purpose of improving his interest at court.

152. In despotic countries, the vices of the court often corrupt all classes, but it was otherwise at that period in Britain. The country gentlemen, and the merchants in the incorporated towns, had privileges which the court dared not too often violate, and a feeling of rectitude and independence was encouraged among these classes, which the statesmen of the age too much overlooked. The House of Commons gave frequent resistance to the court, and often

compelled James to yield, at the very moment when he was preaching his doctrines of divine right. In his first Parliament, they took into consideration several grievances, such as *purveyance*, a supposed right in the officers of the court to seize what provisions they pleased, at any price, or at no price; another was the right of granting *monopolies*, which had become a source of revenue to the court by cheating the country, certain persons having the monopoly of certain manufactures and articles of domestic consumption, which they were allowed to furnish at their own prices. The Commons likewise remonstrated against pluralities in the church, and against a new set of canons which the king and the church tried to force on the nation without their consent. The king having attempted to impose duties on certain imports by his own royal mandate, Bates, a Turkey merchant, resisted, and tried the question before a court of law. It was decided against him by the judges; but he was supported by the House of Commons.

153. James grew much discontented with the conduct of his first Parliament, and sent them a scolding message, telling them that they had no privileges but through his grace. They answered that "their privileges and liberties were their right and inheritance, no less than their very lands and goods, and that they cannot be withheld from them, denied, or impaired, but with apparent wrong to the whole state of the realm." Notwithstanding many explicit declarations that Parliament was determined to preserve its rights, the clergy still flattered the king with doctrines of divine right, and one Dr Cowell published a book, in which it was alleged that "the king is above the law by his absolute power; and though, for the better and equal course in making laws, he do admit the three estates into council, yet this in divers learned men's opinions is not of constraint, but of his own benignity, or by reason of the promise made upon oath at the time of his coronation." The Commons, conceiving that they might be seriously affected by such an opinion, especially as it was openly patronised by the king, took up the matter as a breach of their privileges, and compelled the king to suppress the book by proclamation. The later Parliaments grew still bolder. The king offered to relieve

some grievances; but the Commons would receive no instalment. In 1614, they threatened to postpone any supply till their grievances were redressed. The king, in his turn, threatened to dissolve them if they did not immediately grant a supply; and they allowed him to take his course, which did not fill his coffers. These, and many other instances of bold resistance, should have given warning to the court. They were the shadows of coming events, and attention to them might have saved the bloodshed and confusion of the next reign.

MISCELLANEOUS CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH THE
REIGN OF JAMES I.

154. English literature, which first made a decisive advance in the reign of Elizabeth, continued to be cultivated with great success in the reign of King James. The excellence of the language at this time as a medium for literature, is strikingly shown in the translation of the Bible now executed. It is also shown in the admirable dramatic writings of Shakspeare, and in the valuable philosophic works of Bacon. The inductive philosophy, made known by the last writer—namely, that mode of reasoning which consists in first ascertaining facts, and then inferring conclusions from them—reflects peculiar lustre on this period of our history. Very great praise is also due to Napier of Merchiston, in Scotland, for the invention of *logarithms*, a mode of calculating great numbers, essential to the progress of mathematical science.

155. James I. was very liberal in giving titles of nobility; he established the order of baronets, usually conferring the honour in exchange for a sum of money. He was very desirous that London should not be farther enlarged, and he used to urge the nobility to live in the country, saying that they were regarded as persons of more importance there than in London. But, nevertheless, the metropolis was much increased in size during this reign, and brick buildings were now for the first time generally introduced, instead of the older buildings, which were chiefly composed of wood.

CHARLES I.—HIS CONTENTIONS WITH THE HOUSE OF
COMMONS.

156. King James died in March 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son CHARLES, now twenty-five years of age. One of the first acts of the young king was to marry the Princess Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and a Catholic. This was an unfortunate step for the house of Stuart, for the two eldest sons of the king and queen, though educated as Protestants, were influenced in some measure by the religious creed of their mother, so that they ultimately became Catholics; and this, in the case of the second son, James II., led to the family being expelled from the throne.

157. The country was now engaged in a war with Spain, conducted at an expense of £700,000 a-year. The king called a Parliament, in order to raise the necessary funds; but the lower house, instead of yielding the desired supplies, proceeded to arraign the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, and others of the king's ministers. Charles dissolved the Parliament, after it had sat only three weeks, and endeavoured to obtain partial supplies of money by other means. This spirit in the House of Commons arose from the large number of Puritan members infused into it.

158. The king found himself next year compelled to call his Parliament once more together, in order to raise money; but the same course was again pursued by the House of Commons, and articles of impeachment being now prepared against Buckingham, a dissolution again followed, without one act having been passed. On this occasion, two leading members of the opposition, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot, were committed to the Tower for using bold language towards the court. Such events were calculated to produce great hatred between the king and a portion of his people. The breach was farther widened by the expedients he adopted to raise money: he levied the taxes of tonnage and poundage by his own authority, on the pretext that he would afterwards seek the sanction of Par-

liament; he revived a practice of the early kings, in forcing individuals to grant him loans and *benevolences*, causing such as had no money to serve as common soldiers or sailors; and another old custom was put in force, for obliging certain ports to fit out vessels for the public service at their own cost. At the same time, soldiers were quartered in private houses. Many individuals, who were not disposed to obey such measures, were thrown into prison.

159. In the midst of the troubles arising from these causes, a mere private resentment of the Duke of Buckingham drew the king into a war with France, by which his expenses were greatly increased. The contest was conducted by the Duke himself, but with no success. A large armament which he led (June 1627) for the relief of the Protestant city of Rochelle, then besieged by the French king, failed in its object, and returned disgracefully, with the loss of the third part of the troops. The king was obliged next year to call a third Parliament, which, being animated by the same spirit as the two former ones, proceeded, before granting any money, to embody their chief desires in a bill which they called a *Petition of Right*—demanding that no loans or taxes should be raised but by consent of Parliament; that no man should be imprisoned but by legal process; that soldiers should not be quartered on the people; and that no commissions should be granted for executing martial law. Charles made several attempts to evade this bill, and pacify the Commons, by declaring in general terms that every thing should be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; but the Commons held to their point, and he at length passed the act, which the people generally regarded as one of great importance for establishing their liberties. The house was so much gratified with this concession, that it immediately granted five subsidies. Buckingham then prepared a new armament for the relief of Rochelle; but while he was superintending the operations at Portsmouth, a discharged lieutenant named Felton, in whom the Commons' proceedings against the duke had excited a madness on that subject, deemed it a duty he owed to God and his country to put an end to the life of the unpopular minister, whom he therefore stabbed

to the heart with a knife, immediately after which he quietly yielded himself into custody. The expedition sailed under the Earl of Lindsay, but was as unsuccessful as the last, so that Rochelle was surrendered to the French king, after many thousands of its citizens had perished by famine.

160. While himself disposed to support the church, it was impossible that the king could long agree with a House of Commons of which the majority were unfriendly to that establishment. Neither were their views respecting state policy to be easily reconciled. Quarrels were therefore inevitable, and civil war might be considered as an event likely to take place. It conveys some notion of Charles's feelings and ideas, that we find him about this time telling the Commons, from his own mouth, that he considered himself accountable only to God for his acts as a king. He sternly forbade them to discuss religious matters. On one occasion, when they were preparing a remonstrance, he came to interfere in person: they locked their doors; he caused a blacksmith to break them open; but, when he entered, he found that the house had adjourned. At length, he caused nine of the more conspicuous patriots to be put into the Tower, and (March 10, 1629) dissolved the Parliament, calling these men in his speech by the term "common vipers." Such acts show the imperious spirit by which, unfortunately, he was governed. On the other hand, the opposition was animated by a singular spirit of enthusiasm, which might have given alarm to any government anxious even in a moderate degree to support ancient establishments. Their political views were perhaps not much less extreme than those of the king, and their religious feelings reached a degree of fervour and strictness, which could not perhaps have been very easily reconciled with any system of public affairs. They were eager to repress Popery, for which purpose they often, as justices of peace, put in force those very laws which equally condemned their own form of dissent. They were more particularly at this time indignant at the progress which the doctrines of the Dutch divine Arminius were making in the Church of England. The character of the party is marked in more private points by the severity of their manners, their antipathy to common

amusements, more particularly to plays and masques, and their anxiety to introduce the Jewish mode of observing the Sabbath. The keenness with which such matters were debated in those days can scarcely now be imagined.

ILLEGAL TAXES—HAMPDEN.

161. On dissolving his third parliament, the king resolved to call no more. In order to reduce his expenses, he was glad to make a peace with France (1629), and with Spain (1630), after which there was no foreign war for upwards of twenty years. The nine patriots were not released, till one of them, Sir John Eliot, died in prison. Some others of the opposition were gained over to the court, particularly Sir Thomas Wentworth, who afterwards, as Earl of Strafford, became one of the most noted instruments of the king's authority. Charles now began to give much of his confidence to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose leading policy it was, not only to root out Puritanism, but to bring back the church so far in its rites and ceremonies towards Catholicism, as might tend to conciliate the adherents of that faith—a policy altogether opposite to the tendency of the age, which was adverse to the ceremonial part of religion. The expenses of the government were supported partly by the ordinary revenues of the crown, partly by granting monopolies, but principally by illegal taxes, of which the chief was *ship-money*, or a composition for the presumed obligation to furnish vessels for the public service. For making objections to these taxes, men were dragged before an arbitrary court of the king, called the Star-Chamber, and punished by severe fines and imprisonment. Opposition to the established religion was punished with even greater severity by an ecclesiastical court, called the Court of High Commission. In 1630, a divine named Leighton, for publishing a pamphlet against prelacy, was put on the pillory, had his ears cut off, his nose slit, and the letters "S. S." for *Sower of Sedition*, branded on his cheek. A few years later, one Prynne, who had written against theatricals, was punished in the same way, and thrown into prison for life. Many such cases occurred, and could not

but implant a deep spirit of discontent. The Puritans, feeling themselves so disagreeably placed at home, emigrated in large numbers to a part of the North American continent, which they called *New England*, and there laid the foundation of what is now a great state.

162. The money raised by the king was not of great amount, and each man's share was only a trifle in comparison with his means ; but nothing could reconcile the people to taxes imposed without the consent of Parliament. For years the practice was submitted to, from the reluctance of individuals to expose themselves to prosecution ; but at length one was found to place himself in opposition to it on legal grounds. This was the celebrated John Hampden, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, whose fortune was about £600 a-year, and his share of the tax of ship-money only twenty shillings. The case was tried in the Court of Exchequer (1637) ; and as the judges were then dismissable at the royal pleasure, and of course obsequious servants of the king, a decision was given against Hampden. But during the trial, which lasted six months, the attention of the people was fixed upon the discussion ; the fundamental principles of government were reasoned upon ; and a bold and menacing spirit took possession of the nation. Means were not long wanting to give an effectual check to the king in his unfortunate career.

TROUBLES IN SCOTLAND—THE NATIONAL COVENANT.

163. An attempt had been made by King James to introduce the Episcopal Church into Scotland, because it was thought dangerous to the English church that a form of worship, resembling that of the Puritans, should be permitted to exist in any part of the king's dominions. The same object was prosecuted with greater zeal by King Charles ; and although the people were universally adverse to it, he had succeeded, after a visit which he paid to the country in 1633, in settling thirteen bishops over the church, by whom he hoped to govern the clergy as he did those of England. But when he attempted, in 1637, to introduce a new Book of Common Prayer into the Scotch churches,

the spirit of the people could no longer be kept within bounds. On the Liturgy being opened in the principal church at Edinburgh, the congregation rose in a violent tumult, and threw their clasped Bibles, and the very stools they sat on, at the minister's head ; and it was not till the whole were expelled by force, that the worship was permitted to proceed. It was found necessary, by the Scottish state-officers, to withdraw the obnoxious Liturgy, till they should consult the king, who, not dreading any mischief, gave orders that it should be used as he had formerly directed, and that the civil force should be employed in protecting the clergymen. It was found quite impossible to obey such an order in the face of an united people, who, by committees assembled at Edinburgh, representing the nobles, ministers, gentry, and burghers, endeavoured to awe the king into an abandonment of the late innovations. Charles endeavoured, by every means in his power, to avoid such a humiliation, which he believed would give immense force to the innovators in England. But the Scotch, when they found him hesitating, bound themselves (March 1638), under a bond called the *National Covenant*, which was signed by nineteen-twentieths of the adult population, to resist their sovereign in every attempt he might make to bring in upon them the errors of Popery—for such they held to be the forms of worship and ecclesiastical government which Charles had lately imposed upon their church. The king sent his favourite Scotch counsellor, the Marquis of Hamilton, to treat with his northern subjects ; but nothing would satisfy them but the calling of a General Assembly of the church, for the purpose of settling all disputes. Charles, though he saw that this was only an appeal to the heads of the party by which he had been opposed, consented to the proposal, for the purpose of gaining time, in order that he might make warlike preparations against his refractory people.

164. The Assembly met at Glasgow in November, and, as might have been expected, formally purified the church from all the late innovations, excommunicating the bishops, and declaring the government of the clergy to rest, as formerly, in the General Assembly, which consisted of a selection of

two clergymen from each presbytery, with a mixture of lay elders, and nothing to control its proceedings but their interpretation of the will of the divine founder of the Christian religion. Early in the succeeding year, the king, with great difficulty, collected an army of twenty thousand men, whom he led to the border of Scotland, for the purpose of reducing these despisers of his authority. The Scotch, however, strengthened by devotional feeling, and a certainty that the English, in general, were favourable to their cause, formed an army equal in number, which was placed under the command of General Alexander Leslie, an officer who had served with distinction in the long Protestant war carried on against the Emperor of Germany. The Scottish army was encamped on the top of Dunse Law, a hill overlooking the border, where the duties of military parade were mingled with prayers and preachings, such as were never before witnessed in a camp. The king, seeing the wavering of his own men, and the steadfastness of the Scotch, was obliged to open a negotiation, in which it was agreed to disband both armies, and to refer the disputes once more to a General Assembly and a Scottish Parliament.

165. The king now adopted a new policy with the turbulent people of Scotland. Having formerly gained over some of the English patriots, he thought he might be equally successful with the lords of the Covenant, whom he therefore invited to attend him at Berwick, where the late negotiations had been conducted. A few obeyed the summons; but he failed with all except the Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Montrose, a noble of vigorous genius, whose ambition had been wounded by not having so high a place in the councils of his countrymen as he thought he deserved. Even though he had gained more of the lords, it is not probable that his cause would have been much advanced by it, for the enthusiasm which prevailed in Scotland would have soon called forth new leaders. Montrose for some time appeared on good terms with the Covenanters, but was in secret devoted to the king, and soon became the head of the royalist party in Scotland.

166. In the new General Assembly and Parliament (1640), the votes were equally decisive against Episcopacy;

and though Charles prorogued the latter body before it had completed its proceedings, it nevertheless continued sitting, and voted every measure which it thought necessary. The king collected a second army, and, in order to raise money for a second expedition against the Scots, was reduced to the necessity of calling an English Parliament, the first that had met for eleven years. It met (April 13), but, without listening for a moment to a request for subsidies, began to discuss the national grievances. Finding it quite intractable, the king dissolved it (May 5), and endeavoured to obtain supplies in other quarters. A convocation of the clergy granted him £20,000 per annum for the next six years. The nobility and gentry advanced £300,000; but, when the city of London was asked for a loan of £200,000, it absolutely refused.

167. The Scots did not, on this occasion, wait to be attacked by the king, but in August 1640, marched into the north of England, in the expectation of being supported in their claims by the English people in general. Throughout these proceedings, they professed a rational loyalty towards the king, and only avowed hostility to Archbishop Laud, the Earl of Strafford, and other royal counsellors, whom they professed to consider as alone blameable for the differences between the king and his people. On the 28th of August, the Scots were opposed by an advanced party of the royal army at a ford on the Tyne, near Newburn; but they forced their way through all impediments, and, driving the English before them, took possession of Newcastle. Charles and his minister, Strafford, tried every means of exciting the old hostile feeling of the English against the Scots; but common objects in civil and religious liberty had now rendered them friends, and both nations conceived themselves to have no enemy but the king's counsellors. Animated by such feelings, the English army showed a strong disinclination to meet the Scots on the field, insomuch that the king found it necessary to abandon all hope of reducing the latter people to obedience by arms. He once more opened a negotiation for peace; and it was soon after agreed at a council of peers that all the present dissensions should be referred to the

Parliaments of the two countries, the Scottish army being in the mean time kept up on English pay, till such time as they were satisfied with the state of their affairs.

SITTING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

168. The English Parliament met in November, and immediately commenced a series of measures for effectually and permanently abridging the royal authority. There was even a party, who, provoked by the late arbitrary measures, contemplated the total abolition of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic. Religion was to appearance the moving-spring of the revolution. The destruction of the Episcopal system was now desired by a large portion of the nation. Much zeal was manifested on the popular side against the Catholics, but evidently not so much from a sincere fear of that body of Christians, as the conveniency of setting them up as objects of popular alarm, and making each strong measure appear as only a necessary safeguard against their machinations. The first acts of the Parliament had little or no immediate reference to Scotland. The Earl of Strafford was impeached of treason against the liberties of the people, and executed (May 12, 1641), notwithstanding a solemn promise made to him by the king that he should never suffer in person or estate. Archbishop Laud was impeached and imprisoned, but reserved for future vengeance. The remaining ministers of the king only saved themselves by flight. Some of the judges were imprisoned and fined. The abolition of Episcopacy was taken into consideration. The Catholics fell under a severe persecution; and even the person of the queen, who belonged to this faith, was not considered safe.

169. It was not till August 1641, when the English Parliament had gained many of its objects, that they permitted the treaty of peace with Scotland to be fully ratified. They then gratified the troops, not only with their full pay at the rate of £850 a-day, but with a vote of no less a sum than £300,000 besides, of which £80,000 was paid down, as an indirect way of furnishing their party with the means of future resistance. The king, on his part, also took measures for gaining the attachment of this formidable body of

soldiery, and of the Scottish nation in general. He had agreed to be present at the meeting of their Parliament, in the autumn of this year. In his journey to the north, he passed through the camp at Newcastle, and accepted an invitation to dine with General Leslie. On his arrival in Edinburgh, August 14, he squared his conduct carefully with the rigour of Presbyterian manners. In the Parliament he was exceedingly complaisant: he readily ratified all the acts of the preceding irregular session: he yielded up the right of appointing the state officers of Scotland, and he ordained that the Scottish Parliament should meet once every three years without regard to his will—all of which were points of the greatest importance. The men who had acted most conspicuously against him in the late insurrections, now became his chief counsellors, and he seemed to bestow favours upon them exactly in proportion to their enmity. He created General Leslie Earl of Leven, putting on his coronet with his own hand. The Earl of Argyle, who had been the chief political leader of the Covenanters, was made a marquis. Many others received promotions in the peerage. The offices of state were distributed amongst them. Thus, it will be observed, the affections of the Scots were in a manner set up to auction between the king and his English Parliament, and from both did they receive considerable advantages.

170. But, while thus intriguing with the Covenanting leaders, Charles also kept up a correspondence with a royalist party which had been embodied by the Earl of Montrose. This nobleman was now suffering confinement in Edinburgh Castle, for his exertions in favour of the king. In the anguish of disappointed ambition, he concocted an enterprise, in the manner of a former age, against the lives of his political opponents. The king having refused his sanction to the scheme, he seems to have resolved upon executing one of a less ferocious character, without his majesty's knowledge. The Marquis of Argyle had all along been the prime object of Montrose's antipathy, and the odium was now shared by the Marquis of Hamilton, who at this time held a nearly equal place in the Scottish councils, and by the Earl of Lanark, his younger brother. These three

noblemen Montrose intended to be suddenly seized, and taken on board a vessel in the Firth of Forth. On the same night, his friends were to surprise Edinburgh Castle, and endeavour to bring about a complete revolution in favour of the royal cause. The plot was detected, and the three noblemen retired precipitately to the country. Charles himself was the only person who suffered: the scheme, though probably unknown to him, was universally laid to his charge, and it introduced suspicions of his sincerity that tended to neutralise the effects of his late favours, and also to afford grounds of reproach to the English Parliament, who had naturally viewed his journey to Scotland with great jealousy. After spending about three months in Edinburgh, the king was suddenly called away, in consequence of intelligence which reached him from Ireland.

THE IRISH REBELLION.

171. The cruel policy already mentioned, by which large portions of Ireland were depopulated, and then planted with colonies of English and Scotch settlers, had been continued during the reign of Charles. The inhabitants of Connaught had complied with the condition of surrendering their estates into the hands of the king, to receive them back by a proper legal tenure, and accordingly they were furnished with titles, which were apparently formal and correct. A mistake, however, had been made, either accidentally or by design, in the manner in which the titles passed through the hands of one of the king's officers. They were thus considered legally invalid, and it was recommended to Charles to get them pronounced to be so. So great a clamour, however, was raised by the inhabitants, that Charles agreed to ratify the titles, and to reform some abuses, on his being paid £120,000 within three years. It was stipulated that, within this period, a Parliament should be held to confirm these "graces," as they were termed. This was evaded very skilfully by the summoning an informal Parliament, which could not sit; and at the end of the three years, the king threatened to restrain his "graces," if the contribution were not renewed.

172. In addition to this and other local causes of complaint, the state of religion was one which pervaded nearly the whole country, and was always becoming more and more important. Though the reformed faith had been established for nearly a century, it had made little progress except among the English settlers. The greater part of the nobility, and also of the lower orders, were still attached to the ancient creed; and a Catholic hierarchy, appointed by the Pope, and supported by the people, enjoyed as much respect and obedience as when that religion was countenanced by the state. The refusal of the Catholics to take the oath of supremacy, which acknowledged the king to possess a right which their faith taught them to belong to the Pope, necessarily excluded them from all branches of the public service. There were also penal laws against the profession of Catholicism, and a severe court of Star-Chamber to carry these into execution. Thus situated, the Irish Catholics had two strong motives to mutiny—a confidence in their numbers, and a constant sense of suffering under the government.

173. In 1633, the Earl of Strafford was appointed viceroy of Ireland. His government was vigorous, and those institutions which he thought proper to patronise, flourished under it; but his great aim was to make the king absolute, and he rather subdued than conciliated the popular spirit. When summoned in 1640 to attend the king in England, he left the Irish government in the hands of Sir William Parsons and Sir John Boyle, as Lords Justices. Immediately after his departure, the spirit which he thought he had quelled began to re-appear, being encouraged both by his absence, and by the success which the Scottish Covenanters had experienced in a war against religious restraint. A conspiracy, involving most of the country without the Pale, and including many persons within it, was formed, chiefly under the direction of a gentleman named Roger Moore, who possessed many qualities calculated to endear him to the people. Some circumstances excited the suspicion of the Protestants; and, among others, the return of several officers who had been in the service of the King of Spain, under pretence of recruiting for the Spanish army.

But the apparent tranquillity of the country baffled all scrutiny.

174. The 23d of October 1641, being a market day, was fixed on for the capture of Dublin Castle. During the previous day, nothing had occurred to alarm the authorities. In the evening of the 22d, Owen O'Connally, a gentleman of Irish extraction, met by appointment with Colonel M'Mahon, one of the conspirators, who wished to prevail on him to join the project. O'Connally was struck with alarm and horror at the disclosure, but dared not for some time leave his companion without endangering his own life. He obtained his object by joining M'Mahon in a deep debauch, during which he with difficulty escaped. He proceeded directly to Lord Justice Parsons, to whom he imparted his alarming intelligence; but between fright and intoxication, his manner was so confused, that little attention was at first paid to his communication. As he recovered his senses, he gave a more distinct account of the impending danger, and the justices, becoming truly alarmed, placed guards on the gates of the city, and apprehended M'Mahon, who, being put to the torture of the rack, confessed the conspiracy. Thus was Dublin saved; but a civil war raged next morning in Ulster, and speedily spread over the country.

175. The design of Sir Phelim O'Neill, and the other leaders of the insurrection, was simply political. They conceived the time a good one for striking a blow against the government, as the Scots had done; and their conduct was in the outset characterised by lenity. They could not, however, allay the hatred with which the Catholics looked upon their adversaries; and a spirit of revenge broke out among their followers, which was aggravated to cruel outrage, when they heard that the conspiracy was discovered in Dublin. The spirit of retaliation was let loose, and political wrongs unfeelingly inflicted, were, as is often the case, ferociously avenged. The massacre of an immense number of Protestants held forth an awful lesson of the effects which oppressive laws produce on the human passions. The government rather aggravated than alleviated the evil, by offering the estates of all in rebellion to those who should aid in reducing

them to obedience. This drove the insurgents to desperation, and postponed the complete extinction of the war for several years. It is to be remarked, that, though the Irish were struggling for both national and religious freedom, they gained no sympathy from the patriots of Britain, who, on the contrary, urged the king to suppress the rebellion, being afraid that a religious toleration in Ireland would be inconsistent with the same privilege in their own country. The Scottish Covenanters, themselves so recently emancipated from a restraint upon their consciences, contributed ten thousand troops to assist in restoring that restraint upon the Irish.

THE REMONSTRANCE—COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR.

176. It was generally allowed by moderate people, that in the autumn of 1641, at which time the labours of the Parliament had continued one year, the king had granted redress of all the abuses for which the earlier part of his reign, and the British constitution in general, were blameable. If he could have given a guarantee that he never would seek to restore any of these abuses, or attempt to revenge himself upon the men who had been chiefly concerned in causing him to give them up, there would have been no further contention. Unfortunately, the character of the king for fidelity to his engagements was not sufficiently high to induce the leaders of the House of Commons to depend upon him: they felt that, if they once permitted him to resume his authority, there would be no longer any safety for them; and they deemed it necessary that things should be prevented from falling into their usual current. They therefore prepared a paper called *The Remonstrance*, containing an elaborate view of all the grievances that had ever existed, or could now be supposed to exist; and this they not only presented to the king, but disseminated widely among the people, with whom it served to increase the prevailing disaffection.

177. From this time it was seen that the sword could alone decide the quarrel between the King and the Parliament. Charles made an unsuccessful attempt (January 4,

1642) to seize six of the most refractory members, for the purpose of striking terror into the rest. This served to widen the breach. In the early part of 1642, the two parties severally employed themselves in preparing for war. Yet, even now, the king granted some additional concessions to his opponents. It was at last, upon a demand of the Parliament for the command of the army—a privilege always before and since resting with the crown—that he finally broke off all amicable intercourse. He retired with his family to York.

178. The Parliament found its chief support in the mercantile classes of London and of the eastern coast of England, which was then more devoted to trade than the west, and in the Puritan party generally, who were allied intimately with the Presbyterians of Scotland, if not rapidly becoming assimilated with them. Charles, on the other hand, looked for aid to the nobility and gentry, who were able to bring a considerable number of dependants into the field. The Parliamentary party was by the other styled *Roundheads*, in consequence of their wearing short hair; while the friends of the Parliament bestowed upon their opponents the epithet of *Malignants*. The Royalists were also, in the field, termed *Cavaliers*, from so many of them being horsemen.

179. On the 25th of August the king erected his standard at Nottingham, and soon found himself at the head of an army of ten thousand men. The Parliament had superior forces, and a better supply of arms; but both parties were very ignorant of the art of war. The king commanded his own army in person, and the Parliamentary forces were put under the charge of the Earl of Essex.

180. The first battle took place, October 23, at Edgehill, in Warwickshire, where the king had rather the advantage, though at the expense of a great number of men. He gained some further triumphs before the end of the campaign, but still could not muster so large an army as the Parliament. During the winter, the parties opened a negotiation at Oxford; but the demands of the Parliament being still deemed too great by the king, it came to no successful

181. Early in the ensuing season, the king gained some considerable advantages ; he defeated a Parliamentary army under Sir William Waller at Stratton, and soon after took the city of Bristol. It only remained for him to take Gloucester, in order to confine the insurrection entirely to the eastern provinces. It was even thought at this time that he might have easily obtained possession of London, and thereby put an end to the war. Instead of making such an attempt, he caused siege to be laid to Gloucester, which the army of Essex relieved, when it was just on the point of capitulating. As the Parliamentary army was returning to London, it was attacked by the royal forces at Newbury, and all but defeated. Another royal army in the north, under the Marquis of Newcastle, gained some advantages ; and, upon the whole, at the close of the campaign of 1643, the Parliamentary cause was not in a flourishing condition.

182. In this war, there was hardly any respectable military quality exhibited, besides courage. The Royalists used to rush upon the enemy opposed to them, without any other design than to cut down as many as possible, and, when any part of the army was successful, it never returned to the field while a single enemy remained to be pursued ; the consequence of which was, that one wing was sometimes victorious, while the remainder was completely beaten. The Parliamentary troops, though animated by an enthusiastic feeling of religion, were somewhat steadier, but nevertheless had no extensive or combined plan of military operations. The first appearance of a superior kind of discipline was exhibited in a regiment of horse commanded by Oliver Cromwell, a gentleman of small fortune, who had been a brewer, but was destined, by great talent, hypocrisy, and address, joined to an unrelenting disposition, to rise to supreme authority. Cromwell, though himself inexperienced in military affairs, showed from the very first a power of drilling and managing troops, which no other man in either army seemed to possess. Hence his regiment soon became famous for its exploits.

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

183. The royal successes of 1643 distressed alike the English Parliament and the Scottish nation, who now began to fear the loss of all the political meliorations they had wrested from the king. The two Parliaments therefore entered, in July, into a *Solemn League and Covenant*, for prosecuting the war in concert, with the view of ultimately settling both church and state in a manner consistent with the liberties of the people. In terms of this bond, the Scots raised an army of 21,000 men, who entered England in January 1644, and, on the 1st of July, in company with a large body of English forces, overthrew the king's northern army on Long Marston Moor. The conduct of the Scottish nation in this transaction was not unexceptionable. They had been gratified in 1641 with a redress of every grievance they could name; since which time the king had not given them the least cause of complaint. In now raising war against him, they had no excuse but the very equivocal one, that it was necessary to guard against the possibility of his ever afterwards being able to injure them. They were also acting on English pay, a proceeding not very consistent with their pretensions to independence. The mainspring of their proceedings was a hope of being able to establish the Presbyterian religion in England. The Episcopal church being now abolished, divines were nominated by both nations to meet at Westminster, in order to settle a new form of worship and church government; and after a long course of deliberation, it was agreed that the Presbyterian system should be adopted, though in England it was provided that the new church should have no connexion with or influence over the state.

184. The defeat at Long Marston was severely felt by the king. He gained a victory over Waller at Copredy Bridge, and caused Essex's army to capitulate in Cornwall (September 1); but in consequence of a second fight at Newbury (October 27), in which he suffered a defeat, he was left at the end of the campaign with greatly diminished resources. A new negotiation was commenced at Uxbridge;

but the terms asked by the Parliament were so exorbitant, as to show no sincere desire of ending the war. In truth, though the Presbyterian party were perhaps anxious for peace, there was another party, now fast rising into importance, who had no such wishes. These were the Independents, a body of men who wished to see a republic established in the state, and all formalities whatever removed from the national religion. Among the leaders of the party was Cromwell, whose mind seems to have already become inspired with lofty views of personal aggrandisement. This extraordinary man had sufficient address to carry a famous act called the *Self-Denying Ordinance*, which ostensibly aimed at depriving all members of the legislature of commands in the army, but had the effect only of displacing a few noblemen who were obnoxious to his designs. He also carried an act for modelling the army anew, in which process he took care that all who might be expected to oppose his views should be excluded. It was this party more particularly that prevented any accommodation taking place between the king and his subjects.

MONTROSE'S CAREER IN SCOTLAND.

185. While the negotiation was pending, the Marquis (formerly Earl) of Montrose produced a diversion in Scotland in favour of the king. Having got fifteen hundred foot from Ireland, to which he added a few Perthshire Highlanders, he descended upon the Lowlands, and on the 1st of September (1644) gained a complete victory over a larger and better-armed force at Tippermuir. At Aberdeen, whither he went for the purpose of increasing his army, he gained another victory over a superior body of Covenanters. He was then pursued by a third army, under the Marquis of Argyle, and, after some rapid movements, seemed to dissolve his forces in the Highlands. Ere his enemies were aware, he burst in the middle of winter into the country of his great rival Argyle, which he did not leave till he had made it a desert. Finding himself timidly followed by the marquis, at the head of a large body of the clan Campbell, he turned suddenly, and, falling upon them at Inverlochy

(February 2, 1645), gained a complete victory. He then moved along the eastern frontier of the Highlands, where he found himself opposed by a fourth army under General Baillie. After sacking Dundee, and eluding Baillie's troops, he encountered at Aldern, in Nairnshire (May 4), a greatly superior force, which he also overthrew. Then turning upon Baillie, whom he met at Alford, in Aberdeenshire (July 2), he gained a fifth victory, almost as complete as any of the rest.

186. In all these battles Montrose carried every thing before him by the spirit of his first onset, and the slaughter was in general very great. He now descended to the Lowlands, and at Kilsyth, near Glasgow, was opposed by an army of 6000 men, whom the insurgent government at Edinburgh had hastily assembled from Fife and Perthshire. These, with a much smaller force, he also defeated (August 15), killing great numbers in the pursuit. The committees of church and state then broke up and left the kingdom, leaving him in appearance its sole master. His successes had in the mean time given the king hopes of carrying on the war with success ; but Montrose had in reality gained no sure advantages. Besides his small army of mingled Irish and Highlanders, there was hardly any portion of the nation who did not regard him as only a great public enemy. While lying with a diminished force at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, he was surprised (September 11) by a detachment of the regular Scottish army, under General David Leslie, who completely defeated his troops, and obliged him to leave the kingdom. His having gained six victories in succession, over larger bodies of men, has procured for him a distinguished name ; but his cruelty, and the ambition to which his motives were confined, detract greatly from his character.

CONCLUSION OF THE CIVIL WAR.

187. The English campaign of 1645 ended in the complete overthrow of the king. Throughout the war, his enemies had been continually improving in discipline, in conduct, and in that enthusiasm which animated them so largely, while the royalists had become, out of a mere prin-

ciple of opposition, so extremely licentious, as to be rather a terror to their friends than to their enemies. The new-modelling of the Parliamentary army, which took place early in 1645, had also added much to the effectiveness of the troops, who were now nominally commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, but in reality by Oliver Cromwell, who bore the rank of lieutenant-general. The consequence was, that, in a pitched battle at Naseby (June 14), the king was so completely beaten, that he and his party could no longer keep the field. He had no resource but to retire into Oxford, a town zealously affected to his cause, and well fortified.

188. He endeavoured, from this forlorn position, to renew the negotiations for a peace ; but every attempt of that kind was frustrated by the Independents, who, though a minority in the House of Commons, possessed great power through the army, and, as already mentioned, were desirous of effecting greater changes in church and state than those for which the war was originally undertaken. Dreading the influence of this body, Charles retired privately from Oxford (May 1646), on the approach of the parliamentary forces, and put himself under the protection of the Scottish army at Newark.

189. As the views of the Scots throughout the war had been steadily confined to the security of the Presbyterian religion, along with the safety of the king's person and the establishment of a limited monarchy, they received him with great respect at their camp, and entered into negotiations for effecting their grand object. If Charles would have acceded to their views, he might have immediately resumed a great part of his former power ; and the agitations of many subsequent years, as well as his own life, might have been spared. But this was forbidden, not only by his strong prepossession in favour of the Episcopal forms of worship, but also by his conviction that the Episcopal form of church government was alone compatible with the existence of monarchy. He therefore disagreed with the Presbyterians on the very point which they considered the most important.

190. From the time when Charles first threw himself into the Scottish camp, the English Parliament had made repeated

and strenuous demands for the surrender of his person into their hands. The Scots, however, though acting partly as a mercenary army, asserted their right, as an independent nation under the authority of the king, to retain and protect him. At length, despairing of inducing him to sanction the Presbyterian forms, and tempted by the sum of £400,000, which was given to them as a compensation for their arrears of pay, they consented to deliver up their monarch, but certainly without any apprehension of his life being in danger, and, indeed, to a party quite different from that by which he afterwards suffered. It must also be admitted, in extenuation of an act which has exposed the nation to some obloquy, that they could not have retained possession of the king any longer without a war with the English, which would have involved a breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, and a desertion of all their religious objects in favour of an Episcopalian and hostile monarch. After surrendering the king, the Scottish army retired (January 1647) to their native country, and were dismissed.

191. The king was now placed in Holdenby Castle, and negotiations were opened for restoring him to power, under certain restrictions. While these were pending, the Parliament deemed it unnecessary to keep up the army, more especially as its spirit was plainly observed to be of a dangerous character. On attempting, however, to dismiss this powerful force, the English Commons found that their late servants were become their masters. The troops began to hold something like a Parliament in their own camp; a party of them, under Cornet Joyce, seized the king's person, and brought him to Hampton Court. Cromwell, who was at the bottom of their machinations, received from them the chief command; and, at his instigation, they retorted upon the Parliament with a demand for the dismissal of the leaders of the Presbyterian party, and a general right of new-modelling the government and settling the nation. The House of Commons, supported by the city of London, made a bold opposition to these demands, but was obliged to yield to a force which it had no means of resisting. From that time military violence exercised an almost uncontrolled mastery over England.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING.

192. The leaders of the army, being anxious to fortify themselves by all possible means against the Presbyterians, opened a negotiation with the king, whose influence, such as it now was, they proposed to purchase, by allowing Episcopacy to be the state religion, and leaving him in command of the militia. Charles, however, with characteristic insincerity, carried on at the same time a negotiation with the Presbyterians, which, being discovered by the military chiefs, caused them to break off all terms with him. Under dread of their resentment, he made his escape from Hampton Court (November 11, 1647), and, after an unsuccessful attempt to leave the kingdom, was obliged to put himself under the charge of the governor of Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight. Here he entered upon a new negotiation with the House of Commons, to whom he made proposals, and from whom he received proposals in return; all of which were, however, rendered vain by a secret treaty which he at the same time carried on with a moderate party of the Scottish Presbyterians.

193. He finally agreed with the latter party, but under strict secrecy, to give their form of church government a trial of three years, and yield to them in several other points; they in return binding themselves to unite their strength with the English Royalists, for the purpose of putting down the Independent party, now predominant in the English Parliament. With some difficulty the Duke of Hamilton and others, who conducted this negotiation, succeeded, by a vote of the Scottish Parliament, in raising an army of 12,000 men, with which they invaded England in the summer of 1648. The more zealous of the clergy and people of Scotland protested against an enterprise, which, from its co-operating with Royalists and Episcopalians, and not perfectly ensuring the ascendancy of the Presbyterian Church, appeared to them as neither deserving of success nor likely to command it. As the Scottish army penetrated the western counties, parties of Presbyterians and Royalists rose in different parts of England, and for some time the ascendancy

of the Independents seemed to be in considerable peril. But before the forces of the enemy could be brought together, Cromwell, with 8000 veteran troops, attacked and overthrew Hamilton at Preston, while Fairfax put down the insurgents in Kent and Essex. Hamilton was himself taken prisoner, and very few of his troops ever returned to their own country.

194. While Cromwell was employed in suppressing this insurrection, and in restoring a friendly government in Scotland, the Presbyterians of the House of Commons, relieved from military intimidation, entered upon a new negotiation with Charles, which was drawing towards what appeared a successful conclusion—though the king secretly designed to deceive them, and to pursue other means for an effectual restoration—when the army returned to London, breathing vengeance against him for this last war, of which they considered him as the author. Finding the Parliament in the act of voting his concessions to be satisfactory, Cromwell sent two regiments, under Colonel Pride, who forcibly excluded from it about two hundred members of the Presbyterian party; a transaction remembered by the epithet of *Pride's Purge*. The remainder, being chiefly Independents, were ready to give a colour of law to whatever further measure might be dictated by the military leaders. Convinced of the utter faithlessness of the king, and that, if he continued to live, he would take the earliest opportunity of revenging himself for what had already been done, Cromwell and his associates resolved to put him to death. A High Court of Justice, as it was called, was appointed by ordinance, consisting of a hundred and thirty-three persons, named indifferently from the Parliament, the army, and such of the citizens as were known to be well affected to the Independent party. This body sat down in Westminster Hall (January 20, 1649), under the presidency of a barrister named Bradshaw, while another named Coke acted as solicitor for the people of England. Charles, who had been removed to St James's Palace, was brought before this court, and accused of having waged and renewed war upon his people, and of having attempted to establish tyranny in place of the limited regal power with which he

had been intrusted. He denied the authority of the court, and protested against the whole of the proceedings, but was nevertheless found guilty and condemned to die. On the 30th of January, he was accordingly beheaded in front of his palace of Whitehall. The people were in general horror-struck at this event; but they were too effectually kept in check by the army, to have any influence in preventing it.

195. Charles I. was a man of slender person, of the middle size, and of a grave and somewhat melancholy cast of countenance. He had not a gracious manner, but possessed considerable dignity. He was sincerely attached to the Church of England, for which he might be considered as a martyr, and he was able to reason very acutely in favour of the divine origin of Episcopacy. The general opinion of modern times respecting his political conduct is unfavourable; though few deny that his death was a most disgraceful as well as imprudent act, on the part of those who brought it about. The worst point of his character was his insincerity; he was prone to using equivocations, with a view to deceive his opponents, and therefore no enemy could depend upon him in negotiation. In private life he was a virtuous man, and he is entitled to much credit for the taste which he displayed in the encouragement of the fine arts. He left three sons—Charles, Prince of Wales; James, Duke of York, afterwards James II.; and Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who died in early life. He also left several daughters, one of whom, named Elizabeth, was treated with much harshness by the new government, and died not long after him in prison.

MISCELLANEOUS CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

196. In the reign of Charles I., the chief literary men were Ben Jonson and Philip Massinger, dramatists, and Samuel Daniel, Michael Drayton, and William Drummond, poets. The most eminent philosophical character was Dr William Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood. Elegant architecture was now for the first time

introduced into private buildings. The king patronised the Dutch artists, Rubens and Vandyke, and collected many fine pictures, which were afterwards sold by his enemies. The excise and the tax upon landed property were introduced by the Parliament, in order to support the war against the king. When the Parliamentary party became triumphant, it suppressed the theatre, which was not again set up till the restoration of monarchy.

THE COMMONWEALTH—SUBJUGATION OF IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

197. Though the execution of the king produced a considerable reaction in favour of royalty, the small remaining part of the House of Commons, which got the ridiculous nickname of the *Rump*, now established a republic, under the title of the Commonwealth, the executive being trusted, under great limitations, to a council of forty-one members, while in reality Cromwell possessed the chief influence. The House of Peers was voted a grievance, and abolished, and the people were declared to be the legitimate source of all power. Soon after the king's death, the Duke of Hamilton, and a few other of his chief adherents, were executed.

198. During the progress of the civil war, Ireland had been the scene of almost ceaseless contention among the various parties of the King, the English House of Commons, and the Catholics, none of which could effectually suppress the rest. The most remarkable event was a secret agreement which Charles made, in 1646, with the Earl of Glamorgan, to establish the Catholic religion in Ireland, on condition that its partisans should assist him in putting down his enemies in England and Scotland; a transaction which ultimately injured his reputation, without leading to any solid advantage. At the time of his execution, the Royalists were in considerable strength under the Duke of Ormond, while Hugh O'Neill was at the head of a large party of Catholics, who were not indisposed to join the other party, provided they could be assured of the establishment of their religion. While the two parties in union could

have easily rescued the country from the English connexion, Cromwell landed (August 1649) with 12,000 horse and foot, and, in a series of victories over the scattered forces of his various opponents, succeeded without any great difficulty in asserting the sway of the Commonwealth. One of his most important actions was the capture of Drogheda, where he put the garrison and a number of Catholic priests to the sword, in order to strike terror into the nation.

199. The people of Scotland, who had had scarcely any other object in the civil war than the establishment of their favourite form of worship, and were sincere friends to a limited monarchy, heard of the death of the king with the greatest indignation, and immediately proclaimed his eldest son Charles. Early in 1650, the young monarch, who had taken refuge in Holland, sent Montrose with a small force to attempt a cavalier insurrection in Scotland; but this nobleman being taken and put to death, Charles found it necessary to accede to the views of the Scots respecting the Presbyterian religion, and he was accordingly brought over and put at the head of a considerable army, though under great restrictions. Cromwell, who had now nearly completed the conquest of Ireland, lost no time in returning to London, and organising an army for the suppression of this new attempt against the Commonwealth.

200. On the 19th of July, he crossed the Tweed, and advanced through a deserted country to Edinlurgh, where the Scottish army lay in a fortified camp. Sickness in his army, and the want of provisions, soon after compelled him to retreat; and the Scottish army, following upon his rear, brought him into a straitened position near Dunbar, where he would soon have been under the necessity of surrendering. In the midst of his perplexities (September 3), he beheld the Scots advancing from the neighbouring heights to give him battle, and, in a transport of joy, exclaimed: "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands!" The movement was solely the result of interference on the part of the clergy who followed the Scottish camp: the better sense of General Leslie would have waited for the voluntary surrender of his enemy. In the fight which ensued, the veteran troops of Cromwell soon proved victorious. The

Scots fled in a panic, and were cut down in thousands by their pursuers. This gained for Cromwell the possession of the capital and of all the south-east provinces; but the Covenanters still made a strong appearance at Stirling.

201. Cromwell spent a whole year in the country, vainly endeavouring to bring on another action. During the interval (January 1, 1651), the Scots crowned the young king at Scone, part of the ceremony consisting in his acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant. In the ensuing summer, Cromwell at length contrived to outflank the position of the Scottish army, but the result was, that Charles led his troops into England without opposition, and made a very threatening advance upon the capital. Ere the Royalists had time to rally around him, Cromwell overtook the king at Worcester, where, after a stoutly contested fight (September 3, 1651), he proved completely victorious. Charles, with great difficulty, escaped abroad, and Scotland, no longer possessed of a military force to defend itself, submitted to the conqueror. All the courts of the Scottish church were suppressed, and the ministers were left no privilege but that of preaching to their flocks. The country was kept in check by a small army under General Monk, and in a short time was declared by proclamation to be united with England. Thus was the Independent party, or rather Cromwell, left without a single armed enemy. All the efforts of the people during twelve years to obtain limitations upon the monarchy, had ended in a military despotism.

THE PROTECTORATE.

202. After the country and its dependencies had been thoroughly settled under the new government, the republican leaders resolved upon commencing hostilities against Holland, which, during the civil war, had manifested a decided leaning towards the king, and had recently treated the triumphant party with marked disrespect. In the summer of 1652, the Dutch fleet, under its famous commanders, Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt, had several encounters with the English ships, under Admirals Blake and

Ayscue, without any decided success on either side. But, in the ensuing spring, an action was fought between Blake and Van Tromp, in which the latter lost eleven ships. The Dutch then sued for peace, which the Rump Parliament, for various reasons, were little inclined to grant. Their principal motive for prosecuting the war, was a conviction that it tended to restrict the power of Cromwell, to whom they now paid by no means a willing obedience. Cromwell, perceiving their design, proceeded with three hundred soldiers to the house (April 1653), and entering with marks of the most violent indignation, loaded the members with reproaches for their robbery and oppression of the public; then, stamping with his foot, he gave signal for the soldiers to enter, and, addressing himself to the members, "For shame!" said he, "get you gone! give place to honest men! I tell you you are no longer a Parliament; the Lord has done with you!" He then commanded "that bauble," meaning the mace, to be taken away, turned out the members, and, locking the door, returned to Whitehall with the key in his pocket. Such was the end of the celebrated Long Parliament, which, after carrying on a successful contest with the sovereign and a large party of his subjects for twelve years, was obliged to succumb to one who had at one time been merely a captain in its service.

203. Being still willing to keep up the appearance of a representative government, Cromwell now summoned one hundred and forty-four persons in England, Ireland, and Scotland, to assemble as a Parliament. These individuals, chiefly remarkable for fanaticism and ignorance, were denominated the *Barebones Parliament*, from the name of one of the members, a leather-seller, whose assumed name, by a ridiculous usage of the age, was Praise-God Barebones. As the assembly obtained no public respect, Cromwell took an early opportunity of dismissing it. His officers then constituted him PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of Great Britain and Ireland, with most of the prerogatives of the late king.

204. The war against Holland was still carried on with great spirit. In the summer of 1653, two naval actions, in which both parties fought with the utmost bravery, termi-

nated in the triumph of the English, and the complete humiliation of the Dutch, who obtained peace on the condition of paying homage to the English flag, expelling the young king from their dominions, and paying a compensation for certain losses to the East India Company.

205. In a war which he subsequently made against Spain, the fleets of the Protector performed some exploits of not less importance. The respect which he thus gained for the English name throughout Europe, is one of the brightest points in his singular history. But while generally successful abroad, he experienced unceasing difficulties in the management of affairs at home. The authority which he had usurped did not rest on the affections of the people, but solely on the vigour of the army, by which it had been created. His administration, no doubt, was generally free from practical tyranny. He had, by dis-establishing all churches, left no man cause to complain of undue favour shown to any faith which he disapproved of. He caused justice, except in some particular cases involving political considerations, to be administered impartially; and he preserved domestic peace. Nevertheless, his power enjoyed so little of public approbation, that, of the various parliaments which he summoned during his protectorate, no one was found so carefully composed of his own creatures as to yield readily to his will: he was obliged to dissolve them all, in succession, after a short trial. He also experienced great difficulty in raising money, and sometimes applied for loans in the city without success. From the first, the troubles of his government appear to have steadily increased towards its close; so that, though strongly based in terror, it could not have probably existed many more years. His own officers could scarcely be kept in subordination, but were constantly plotting a reduction of his authority. The Royalists, on the other hand, never ceased to conspire for his destruction; one, named Colonel Titus, went so far as to recommend his assassination in a pamphlet, entitled "Killing no Murder," after reading which he was never seen again to smile.

206. The last Parliament called by Cromwell, was in January 1656; when, besides the Commons, he summoned

the few remaining Peers, and endeavoured, by ennobling some of his officers, to make up a kind of Upper House. This assembly proved as intractable as its predecessors, and he contracted such a disgust at the very nature of a representative legislature, as to resolve, like Charles I., never to call another. His health finally sank under the effects of his ill-gotten power, and he died on the 3d September 1658, a day which was thought to be propitious to him, as it was the anniversary of several of his victories. His eldest son Richard, a weak young man, succeeded him as Protector, and was at first treated with all imaginable respect; but he could not long maintain a rule which even his father had ultimately failed in asserting. He quietly slunk out of public view, leaving the supreme authority in the hands of the Rump, which had taken the opportunity to re-assemble.

THE RESTORATION.

207. This remnant of an old Parliament continued in power till the autumn of 1659, when it gave way to a council of the officers who had been in command under Cromwell. The latter government, in its turn, yielded to the Rump, which sat down once more in December. The people, finding themselves made the sport of a few ambitious adventurers, began to long for some more fixed and respectable kind of government. Their efforts for liberty, conducted from the first by armed violence, had ended in a government of which violence was the only principle; and they contracted an unjust disrespect for freedom, and every thing relating thereto, from the effects of their own imprudent ways of seeking it.

208. At this crisis, General Monk, commander of the forces in Scotland, conceived the design of settling the nation. He left Scotland (January 2, 1660), with a considerable army; and though he kept his thoughts scrupulously to himself, all men bent their eyes upon him, as a person destined to realise their hopes. He reached London (February 3), and was received with feigned respect by the Rump. Some resistance was attempted by Lambert, one of Cromwell's officers, but in vain. Ere long, Monk was

able to procure the restoration of the members who had been excluded from Parliament by Cromwell ; who, being a majority, gave an immediate ascendancy to anti-republican views. As soon as this was effected, an act was passed for calling a new and freely elected Parliament ; after which, the existing assembly immediately dissolved itself.

209. The new Parliament proved to be chiefly composed of Cavaliers and Presbyterians, men agreeing in their attachment to monarchy, though differing in many other views. At the first they proceeded with great caution ; for such terror had been inspired by the late military tyrannies, that, even when the breathings of almost all men were evidently in favour of a restoration of the monarchy, they could hardly trust themselves to take any steps towards that object. At length General Monk informed them that a messenger was in waiting with dispatches from the king, and it was instantly resolved to receive him. The dispatches were found to contain a proposal for the king's restoration to power, with an offer of forgiveness for all past offences which the Parliament itself might not think fit for punishment, and a toleration to all tender consciences in the matter of religion. The documents were read with shouts of applause, and money immediately voted for the purpose of bringing over the royal family. The members were so glad to escape from the disorders of the last few years, that they never thought of making any definite arrangement with the king as to the extent of his prerogative. They, and the nation in general, seemed to think that there could be no safety except in that almost absolute rule which they had begun to dispute twenty years before. CHARLES THE SECOND arrived in London on the 29th of May, his thirtieth birth-day, and was received with such a frenzy of joy by all ranks of people, that he could not help thinking it his own fault, as he said, that he had been so long separated from them.

210. One of the first measures of the new monarch was the passing of a bill of indemnity, by which all persons concerned in the late popular movements were pardoned, excepting a few who had been prominently concerned in bringing the king to the block. Harrison, Scrope, and a

few other regicides, were tried and executed; and the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were raised from the grave, and exhibited upon gibbets. In Scotland only three persons suffered—the Marquis of Argyle, Johnston of Warriston, and Mr Guthry, a clergyman: it was considered remarkable, that the marquis had placed the crown upon the king's head at Scone in the year 1651. Excepting in these acts, the king showed no desire of revenging the death of his father, or his own exclusion from the throne. The Parliament which called him home was constituted a legal one by his own ratification of an act for that purpose. In the settlement of other matters, it seemed the prevailing wish that all the institutions of the country should be made as nearly what they were before the civil war as possible. Thus, the Episcopal Church was established both in England and in Scotland, though not without causing about a third of the clergy in both countries to resign their charges. Immediately before the Restoration, the Scottish clergy had entered into a treaty with the king, whom they induced to promise that he would support religion as by law established. But when seated on the throne, he easily found means for evading this obligation—Presbyterianism being, in his opinion, a religion “unfit for a gentleman.” The Parliament of Scotland exceeded that of England in loyalty. It declared the power of the king to be hereditary, divine, and indefeasible, and asserted his uncontrolled right to the lives and possessions of his subjects. The change of political feeling was not more remarkable than what took place in manners. The stern and enthusiastic piety which prevailed during the civil war, was now treated with ridicule, and the most of the people vied with each other in that licentious riot and drunkenness which is condemned by all systems of faith. The nation, in fact, seemed intoxicated with the safety which they supposed themselves to have at length gained, in a restoration to the imperfect freedom they enjoyed before the civil war.

ACT OF SETTLEMENT IN IRELAND.

211. Ireland, which, during the Protectorate, had been managed by Henry, a younger son of Cromwell, acceded to

the Restoration with as much readiness as any other part of the British dominions. One of the earliest measures of the new government was to restore to the Catholics some portions of the lands of which they had been deprived by Cromwell, and to settle the state of property in Ireland generally. For this purpose, two measures were passed, called the Act of Settlement and the Act of Explanation. From the suspected bias of the king towards their religion, the Catholics hoped that very favourable terms would be extended to them; but the English Protestant party was, as usual, too powerful for them, and, while about three thousand were disappointed of all benefit from the acts, on account of their alleged accession to the Rebellion before it had become a Royalist one, the rest received only a limited portion of their former possessions. During the remainder of the reign of Charles II., the Catholics made many unsuccessful attempts to procure a repeal of the Act of Settlement.

DUTCH WAR.

212. Though Charles had been restored with the approbation of a very large portion of his subjects, his most zealous friends were the Royalists and Episcopalians; hence he almost immediately subsided into the character of a party ruler. It was deemed necessary that he should maintain an armed force for the protection of his person, and to keep down popular disturbances. He therefore caused several horse regiments to be embodied under the name of Life Guards, being chiefly composed of Royalist gentlemen upon whom a perfect dependence could be placed; and he afterwards added two or three foot regiments, the whole amounting to about 5000 men. The king paid these troops chiefly out of the money allowed for his own support, for Parliament did not sanction his keeping up such a force, and the nation generally beheld it with suspicion. This was the commencement of a *standing army* in England.

213. Personally indolent, dissolute, and deficient in conscientiousness, and surrounded almost exclusively by the

ministers of the basest pleasures, Charles was not qualified to retain the sincere respect of a people whose habitual character is grave and virtuous. His extravagant expenditure soon cooled the affections of his Parliament, and he began to find considerable difficulties in obtaining money. To relieve himself from this embarrassment, he accepted £40,000 from the French king for Dunkirk, a French port which had been acquired by Cromwell. For the same purpose, he married a Portuguese princess of the Catholic religion, who possessed a dowry of half a million. He also commenced (1664) a war against Holland, for apparently no better reason than that, in applying the Parliamentary subsidies necessary for keeping up hostilities, he might have an opportunity of converting part of the money to his own personal use.

214. This Dutch war was chiefly conducted by sea. On the 3d of June 1665, an English fleet of one hundred and fourteen sail met a Dutch one which numbered just one ship less, near Lowestoffe, and after an obstinate fight gained a complete victory, depriving the enemy of eighteen vessels, and compelling the rest to take refuge on their own coast. The commander on this occasion was the Duke of York, the king's younger brother; a man of greater application and more steady principles, but who soon after became unpopular, in consequence of his avowing himself a Catholic.

215. Some other well-contested actions took place at sea, and the English, upon the whole, confirmed their naval supremacy. Owing, however, to a failure of the supplies, the king was obliged to lay up his best vessels in ordinary, and to send only an inferior force to sea. The Dutch took advantage of this occurrence to send a fleet up the Thames (June 10, 1667), which, meeting with no adequate resistance, threatened to lay the capital in ruins and destroy its shipping. Fortunately, the Dutch admiral did not think it expedient to make this attempt, but retired with the ebb of the tide, after having sunk and burnt nearly twenty vessels, and done much other damage. The king, finding himself rather impoverished than enriched by the war, soon after concluded a peace.

PLAGUE AND FIRE OF LONDON.

216. In the mean time, two extraordinary calamities had befallen the metropolis. In the summer of 1665, London was visited by a plague, which swept off about 100,000 people, and did not experience any abatement till the approach of cold weather. On this occasion, the city presented a wide and heart-rending scene of misery and desolation. Rows of houses stood tenantless, and open to the winds; the chief thoroughfares were overgrown with grass. The few individuals who ventured abroad, walked in the middle of the streets, and, when they met, declined on opposite sides, to avoid the contact of each other. At one moment were heard the ravings of delirium, or the wail of sorrow, from the infected dwelling; at another, the merry song or careless laugh from the tavern, where men were seeking to drown in debauchery all sense of their awful situation. Since 1665, the plague has not again occurred in London, or in any other part of the kingdom.

217. The second calamity was a conflagration, which commenced on the night of Sunday the 2d of September 1666, in the eastern and more crowded part of the city. The direction and violence of the wind, the combustible nature of the houses, and the defective arrangements of that age for extinguishing fires, combined to favour the progress of the flames, which raged during the whole of the week, and burnt all that part of the city which lies between the Tower and the Temple. By this calamity, 13,200 houses and 89 churches, covering in all 430 acres of ground, were destroyed. The flame at one time formed a column a mile in diameter, and seemed to mingle with the clouds. It rendered the night as clear as day for ten miles around the city, and is said to have produced an effect upon the sky which was observed on the borders of Scotland. It had one good effect, in causing the streets to be formed much wider than before, by which the city was rendered more healthy. By the populace, this fire was believed to have been the work of the Catholics, and a tall pillar, with an inscription to that effect, was reared in the city, as a monu-

ment of the calamity. This pillar with its inscription still exists; but the fire is now believed to have been occasioned purely by accident.

THE PERSECUTION IN SCOTLAND.

218. Meanwhile, in Scotland great dissatisfaction had been occasioned by the imposition of Episcopacy upon the church, and advantage had been taken of various acts of resistance on the part of the clergy and people, to visit both with measures of considerable severity. Heavy fines were imposed upon such as failed to attend the ministrations of the established clergy, on the suspicion that, when not at church, they were hearing the ejected clergymen in some private place. A small standing army was kept up to enforce the fines, and, till these were paid, free quarters were exacted for the soldiers. Tired of suffering, a few of the peasantry of Galloway rose in rebellion (November 1606), and, advancing through the disaffected districts of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, gradually assumed a threatening appearance. An unfortunate movement towards Edinburgh, where they expected accessions, thinned their numbers, and they were overpowered by General Dalrymple at the Pentland Hills. Thirty-four of the prisoners were executed as rebels, chiefly at the instigation of Sharpe, Archbishop of St Andrews, who, with the other prelates, was peculiarly zealous in behalf of the government. Besides these sufferers, fifty persons, including fifteen clergymen, forfeited lands and goods.

219. Some attempts were now made, at the desire of the king, to induce the ejected clergy to connect themselves with the church; but very few took advantage of a leniency which they believed would have been extended also to Catholics, and which involved their acknowledgment of the king's supremacy in spiritual affairs. About the year 1670, some divines began to hold conventicles in secluded parts of the country, to which the country people used to come with arms. At these places, a far warmer kind of devotion was felt, than could be experienced under tamer circumstances; and, as may be supposed, such meetings were not

calculated to diffuse or foster a sentiment of loyalty. Sensible of this, the government obtained an act, imposing very severe fines on all who should preach or listen at conventicles ; but without producing any effect. The penalties with which they were threatened, seemed only to make the people more attached to their peculiar modes of worship and church government.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE—THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

220. The kingdom of France was at this period, under Louis XIV., rising into a degree of power and wealth which it had never before known. Louis had some claims through his wife upon the Netherlands (since called Belgium), which were then part of the Spanish dominions. He accordingly endeavoured to possess himself of that country by force of arms. A jealousy of his increasing power, and of the Catholic religion, professed by his people, induced the English to wish that his aggressions should be restrained. To gratify them, Charles entered into an alliance with Holland and Sweden, for the purpose of checking the progress of the French king. In this object he was completely successful, and consequently he became very popular. The Parliament, however, having disappointed him of supplies, he soon after entirely changed his policy, and, with the assistance of five abandoned ministers, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, who were called the CABAL, from the initials of their names forming that word, resolved to render himself, if possible, independent of Parliament ; in other words, an absolute prince. In consideration of a large bribe from Louis, he agreed to join France in a war against Holland, with the view of putting an end to that example of a Protestant republic.

221. War was accordingly declared in May 1672, and the naval force of England was employed in meeting that of the Dutch by sea ; while Louis led a powerful army across the Rhine, and in a very short time had nearly reduced the whole of the Seven Provinces. In this emergency, the Dutch could only save themselves from absolute ruin

by laying a great part of their country under water. The English, who had not entered heartily into this war, soon began to be alarmed for the fate of Holland, which was almost their only support against the dread of Popery; and though forbidden, under severe penalties, to censure the government measures, they soon contrived to exhibit so much dissatisfaction, as to render a change of policy unavoidable.

222. The king found it necessary to assemble his Parliament (February 1673), and it was no sooner met, than it passed some acts highly unfavourable to his designs. Among these was the famous Test Act, so called because it enacted the imposition of a religious oath upon all persons about to enter the public service, the design being to exclude the Catholics from office. Above all things, the House of Commons declared that it would grant no more supplies for the Dutch war. The king resolved to prorogue the assembly; but before he could do so, they voted the alliance with France, and several of his ministers, to be *grievances*. Charles, who, in wishing to be absolute, had been inspired by no other motive than a desire of ease, now saw there was a better chance of his favourite indulgence in giving way to his subjects than in any other course; and he at once abandoned all his former measures, and concluded a separate peace with Holland. This country was now beginning, under the conduct of the Prince of Orange, to make a good defence against the French, which it was the better enabled to do by obtaining the friendship of Germany and Spain. In the year 1678, after a war, which, without any decisive victories, will ever reflect lustre upon Holland, a peace was concluded. The Prince of Orange, in the previous year, had married the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, and educated in the reformed faith—an alliance which pleased the English, from its strengthening the Protestant interest, and which was destined, some years after, to bring about important results.

CHARACTER OF THE COURT.

223. During the whole of this reign, the corruptness of the court was very great; but it was, in some measure, the

protection of the public. Charles spent vast sums in debauchery, and thus made himself more dependent on his Commons than he would otherwise have been. Many of the Commons were exceedingly corrupt, and all kinds of evil methods were adopted to render them more so. Bribes were distributed among them, and they were frequently *closeted*; that is, brought into the presence of the king individually, and personally solicited for votes. Still a large party maintained its purity and independence, and long kept a majority against the court. The contrast between the manners of the court and of the country, which was first observable in the reign of James I., was very remarkable in that of Charles II. Most of the men who surrounded the throne, were, like the monarch, profligate in their lives, and totally careless of the public interest. The chief political influence was wielded by abandoned women. None of the courtiers would attend meetings, even in the most awful emergencies, unless they were to be regaled by buffoonery. An *analist* of the period relates, that, on the night when London was alarmed by the sound of the Dutch cannon at the very entrance of the city, the king supped with one of his mistresses and several courtiers, and that they employed themselves during the evening in hunting a moth. Many of those who had witnessed the more serious doings of the court of Cromwell, still lived to lament these follies, and they drew a line of broad distinction between themselves and the court.

THE POPISH PLOT.

224. For a century past, one of the grand moving-springs of the public conduct had been a strong detestation and dread of the adherents of the Romish church. This sentiment did not arise from any fear of the numbers or political strength of the Catholics, for they were but a small minority of the nation, but from a belief, generally entertained, that the Catholics scrupled at no treachery or cruelty which might seem favourable to the re-establishment of their religion. The popular notions, newly inflamed by the avowed Catholicism of the Duke of York, heir-presumptive to the

crown, and by the late intrigues of the king with France, were encouraged by a party who wished to impose restrictions upon the royal prerogative, and to exclude the duke from the succession. In 1678, an account of a plot, supposed to have been formed by the Papists, for burning London, massacring the Protestants, and destroying the king and the Protestant religion, was circulated by one Kirby, a chemist; Tong, a weak, credulous person; and Titus Oates, one of the most abandoned miscreants that ever appeared in history. The circumstances attending this pretended discovery were so unlike reality, that, if the nation had not been in a state of hallucination at the time, they never could have been for a moment listened to.

225. Nevertheless, the Popish Plot, as it was called, was not only generally believed by the people, but also by the Parliament and the court; and such was the extent of the excitement, that a general massacre of the Catholics was apprehended. Even the king, though incredulous, was obliged to give way to the prevailing delusion. Meanwhile, letters were seized, which discovered that the Duke of York carried on a correspondence with France, in opposition to the religion and interests of his country. A correspondence of the king's minister Danby, which involved the king in the disgrace of similar machinations, was detected; and, to crown the whole, Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, the magistrate who first gave publicity to the plot, was found in the fields dead, with his own sword stuck through his body. For two years this horrible delusion reigned over the public mind, and under its influence many innocent Catholics were condemned to death. At length the execution of a venerable nobleman, the Viscount Stafford, excited a general sensation of pity, and the people gradually saw and repented of the excesses which they had committed.

THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT—THE EXCLUSION BILL.

226. At this period, the House of Commons appears for the first time formally separated into the two parties who have ever since been recognised in it. The appellation Tory, applied to the friends of the Court, was originally

brought from Ireland, where the word *Tores* (give me), used by a cavalier handitti, had gradually been extended to the whole of the cavalier or royalist party. The term *Whig*, which fell to the lot of the Opposition, is said to have originated in Scotland, being first applied to the sterner portion of the Presbyterian party in the western counties, on account of their supposed resemblance to the sour serum of milk, which is called *whig* in that district.

227. The Parliament having impeached Danby, the king dissolved it, and called another. The new assembly, which met in October 1679, proved equally uncontrollable as the last. It passed, by a majority of seventy-nine, a bill excluding the Duke of York from the succession; declared the king's guards and standing army illegal; and passed the *Habeas Corpus* act, which, limiting the time between the apprehension of a supposed criminal and his trial, rendered it impossible for this or any future sovereign to keep individuals in prison at his pleasure, as had formerly been done. The last measure is still justly looked upon as the great bulwark of personal liberty in Britain. Though the bill for excluding the Duke of York was thrown out by the Upper House, that prince found it necessary to evade the popular odium, first by retiring to Brussels, and afterwards to Scotland. At the same time, the Duke of Monmouth, eldest natural son of the king, and believed by many to be legitimate, began to be regarded by the Presbyterians and liberal party in general as a preferable heir to the crown. In these agitations, the populace of London was particularly active; and it was at this period that the term *mob* was first used. The word was an abbreviation of *mobile vulgus*, a phrase signifying "the unsteady vulgar," which the court contemptuously applied to the crowds which daily assembled.

PERSECUTION IN SCOTLAND.

228. The persecution in Scotland for field-meetings was so severe, that, before the year 1678, it was supposed that 17,000 persons had suffered by it, in fine, imprisonment, and death. A bond was attempted to be imposed upon the

people, in which conventicles were renounced; and, to enforce it in the west country, an army of 10,000 Highlanders was permitted to range there at free quarters. Nothing, it was found, could break the resolution of the people to adhere to their favourite modes of worship; on the contrary, all these severe measures inspired a deep resentment against the government, as well as the prelates. On the 2d of May 1679, as Archbishop Sharpe was going in his coach to St Andrews, he was beset by a body of desperate men, among whom were Balfour of Burleigh, and Hackstoun of Rathllet, who cruelly slew him. An insurrection of the west country conventiclers immediately followed, and a party of dragoons sent against them, under Captain Graham of Claverhouse, was gallantly repulsed at Loudon Hill. In a brief space, about five thousand men were found in arms against the state, among whom were many of the lesser gentry, the command being assumed by a gentleman named Hamilton. The rebellion was considered so formidable, that the Duke of Monmouth was sent down to head the troops for its suppression. He found them posted advantageously at Bothwell Bridge (June 22); but divisions on certain religious and political points unfitted them for making a good resistance. After defending the bridge for a while, they turned in a panic, and fled. Three hundred were killed in the pursuit, and twelve hundred taken prisoners.

229. This unfortunate insurrection, being followed up by fresh severities, effectually subdued all disposition to resistance, except in a small party of the nonconformists, whose principles were of an unusually enthusiastic kind. Twenty armed men, professing these principles, were assailed by a detachment of dragoons, in Airmoss (1680), when their leader Cameron, a clergyman, and several others, were killed, after a desperate resistance. Cargill, another preacher of this extreme sect, soon after held a conventicle at Torwood, near Stirling, where he formally excommunicated the king, his brother, and ministers. These proceedings had a highly injurious effect, in as far as they gave occasion for fresh severities against the whole party; but they originated in such pure and pious motives, and brought down such

calamities upon the unshrinking heads of those concerned in them, that they have ever since been regarded in Scotland with great respect.

230. The more uncompromising party soon after arranged themselves into what they called a Secret Society, and (12th January 1682) openly appeared at Lanark, where they published a declaration of their principles, among which a renunciation of all allegiance to Charles II. was the most remarkable. The dispute between the government and its subjects had now arrived at such an extremity, that individuals were shot in the fields by military law, if they merely refused to acknowledge the royal authority. The most of the people, unable or unwilling to resist, were therefore obliged to give an external reverence to the church established amongst them, or at least to the irregular clergy, who, by submissions odious to the community, had received what was called an *indulgence* or permission to preach. A great disposition prevailed to emigrate to the American colonies, as the only means of escaping the oppressive restraints which prevailed at home.

THE KING BECOMES ABSOLUTE—THE RYE-HOUSE PLOT.

231. In the mean time, an extraordinary revolution took place in England. About the time that popular feeling was recovering from the mania respecting the Popish Plot, the House of Commons had shown stronger symptoms than ever of a determination to seek the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. The time was unfortunate, for men were beginning to suspect that they had been deceived in many of their surmises about danger from the Catholics. The object, moreover, touched upon a principle which many men in that age deemed sacred—that of hereditary succession; nor was it possible to blame the king for opposing a measure so unfavourable to the interests of his nearest blood relation. In fact, the liberal party of the House of Commons pushed their favourite measure to such a point, as to cause a reaction of the public mind against their views.

232. The king called a new Parliament to meet at Oxford, resolved, in the event of its not proving more tract-

able, to take advantage of the popular feeling, dissolve the assembly, and never call another. It met on the 21st of March 1681, and the Whigs soon showed that the Exclusion Bill was still uppermost in their minds. The king permitted one of his ministers to propose, that, at his death, the Princess of Orange should reign as regent, and the new king be for ever banished five hundred miles from his dominions. To this concession, which now seems much greater than could have reasonably been expected, they would not listen for a moment. Charles then dissolved the Parliament as utterly intractable, and, as he expected, he was generally applauded for the act. Popular feeling had now taken a turn in favour of royalty; and the representative branch of the legislature, long regarded with veneration by the English, was once more permitted to go down without a struggle. The king henceforth ruled entirely without control, being secretly supplied with money by France, in consideration of his non-interference with the conquests of that country. The liberal party was completely baffled and broken, and all its power as a check upon the royal measures lost, merely through inadvertency to the state of public feeling.

233. A fit of slavishness now befell the English nation, as remarkable in its extent as the late fury against the court and the Catholics. Supported by this mood of the people, Charles caused all the corporations in the kingdom to give up their old charters, and accept of new ones, by which he became all-powerful over the elections of magistrates, and, consequently, over those of parliamentary representatives, should ever another election of that kind take place. The leaders of the late majority in Parliament, comprising the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell (son of the Earl of Bedford), the Earl of Essex, Lord Howard, the famous Algernon Sydney, and John Hampden, grandson of the patriot who first resisted Charles I., being reduced to absolute despair, formed a project for raising an insurrection in London, to be supported by one in the west of England, and another under the Earl of Argyle in Scotland, and the object of which should be confined to a melioration of the government. They were betrayed by an associate named Rumsay,

and implicated, by a train of unfortunate circumstances, in a plot for assassinating the king (styled the Rye-house plot), of which they were perfectly innocent. By the execution of Russell and Sydney, and some other severities, the triumph of the king might be considered as completed. After having been an absolute sovereign for nearly four years, he died (February 6, 1685), professing himself at the last to be a Catholic, and was succeeded by the Duke of York.

234. Charles II. was a prince of a gay and cheerful disposition, and so noted a sayer of witty things, and so addicted to humorous amusements, that he was called "the merry monarch." His wit, shrewdness, and good humour, form the best side of his character. On the other side, we find a deficiency of almost every active virtue and of all steady principle. He never allowed any duty of his station, or any claim upon his justice or clemency, to interfere with his own interests, or even to disturb him in his indolent and vicious pleasures. Neglecting his wife, who never had any children, he spent most of his time with his various mistresses, who openly lived at court, and were even received by the queen. Of these ladies, the most remarkable were Louisa Querouaille, whom he created Duchess of Portsmouth, and Barbara Villiers, whom he made Duchess of Cleveland. Six sons of the king by his mistresses were made dukes, and five of these were the progenitors of families in the English nobility.

235. During the reign of Charles II., the nation advanced considerably in the arts of navigation and commerce; and the manufactures of brass, glass, silk, hats, and paper, were established. The Post-Office, set up during the Commonwealth as a means of raising money, was advanced in this reign, and the penny post was now begun in London by a private person. Roads were greatly improved, and stage-coach travelling was commenced, though not carried to any great extent. During this reign, tea, coffee, and chocolate, which have had a great effect in improving and softening manners, were first introduced. In 1660, the Royal Society was established in London, for the cultivation of natural science, mathematics, and all useful knowledge.

The science of astronomy was greatly advanced by the investigations of Flamstead and Halley. But the greatest contribution to science was made by Sir Isaac Newton, whose *Principles of Natural Philosophy* were published in 1683: in this work, the true theory of planetary motions was first explained, in reference to the principle of gravitation. Amongst the literary men of the period, the first place is to be assigned to John Milton, author of the *Paradise Lost* and other poems: Samuel Butler shines as a humorous and satirical poet, and Edmund Waller as a lyrist. Amongst divines, the highest names connected with the church are those of Jeremy Taylor and Isaac Barrow; while the highest among the nonconformists are those of Richard Baxter and John Bunyan. The theatre, which had been suppressed during the Commonwealth, was revived in this reign; but the drama exhibited less talent and more licentiousness than it did in the previous reigns. Female characters, which had formerly been acted by men, were now for the first time performed by females.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II.

236. Charles II., with all his faults, had conducted himself towards his subjects with so much personal cordiality, and had so well calculated his ground before making any aggressions upon popular liberty, that he might probably have pursued his arbitrary career for many years longer. But his brother James, though much more respectable as a man, more industrious, and more sincere, wanted entirely the easiness of carriage, pleasantry, and penetration, which were the grounds of the late king's popularity and success. He was, moreover, a declared Catholic, and inspired by an ardent desire of reforming the nation back into that faith. These circumstances, though they at first seemed to threaten very bad consequences, afterwards proved the means of saving the country from the complete establishment of a despotic government.

237. James began his reign by declaring before the Privy Council his intention to govern solely by the laws, and to maintain the existing church; and such was the confidence

in his sincerity, that he soon became very popular. Addresses poured in upon him from all quarters, professing the most abject devotion to his person. He called a Parliament, in order to obtain money, and, by reason of the control which the crown had acquired over the boroughs, he was not disappointed in his wishes. The House of Commons voted him an ample revenue, and expressed the greatest servility towards him in all things. The doctrines of passive obedience, and the divine right of the sovereign, were now openly preached. The University of Oxford promulgated an elaborate declaration of passive obedience to rulers, which they declared to be "clear, absolute, and without any exception of any state or order of men." The Scottish Parliament acknowledged the king's *sacred, supreme, and absolute authority*, which they offered to support with their lives and fortunes. In short, it seemed as if the civil liberties of the British people were now to be surrendered to the crown, as a possession which it was no longer safe or expedient to retain.

EXPEDITIONS OF MONMOUTH AND ARGYLE

238. The remains of the Whig party still existed, though in exile, and there were some districts of the country where they were supposed to have considerable influence. The Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Argyle (the latter of whom had been condemned to death in Scotland, for adding a qualification to the test-oath, but had escaped), met in Holland, and projected two separate invasions, for the purpose of expelling King James. The former soon after landed in the west of England with a small retinue, and quickly found himself at the head of 5000 persons, though irregularly armed. At several places he caused himself to be proclaimed king, which offended many of his principal adherents, as inconsistent with his previous engagements. Upon the whole, his conduct was not energetic enough for the management of such an enterprise. Being attacked by the king's troops near Bridgewater, his infantry fought with some spirit, but, being deserted by the cavalry, and by the duke himself, were obliged to give way. Monmouth him-

self was taken and executed. Many of his followers were hanged without form of trial by the royal troops, and others were afterwards put to death, with hardly any more formality, by the celebrated Chief-Justice Jefferies, whom the king sent down with a commission to try the offenders. The butchery of several hundred men of low condition, who were unable of themselves to do any harm to the government, was looked upon as a most unjustifiable piece of cruelty, even if it had been legally done; and the principal blame was popularly ascribed to the king.

239. The Earl of Argyle sailed in May with a corresponding expedition, and landed in that part of the West Highlands which owned his own baronial authority. Unfortunately for him, the government had received warning, and seized all the gentlemen of his clan, upon whom he had chiefly depended. He nevertheless raised between two and three thousand men, and made a timid advance to Glasgow, in the expectation of being joined by the persecuted Presbyterians of that part of the country. Being surrounded on the march by various parties of troops, he dispersed his army, and sought to escape in disguise, but was taken, brought to Edinburgh, and executed. Thus terminated the last effort made by the Whig party to ameliorate the despotic sway of the Stuarts.

ARBITRARY MEASURES OF THE KING

240. Encouraged by his successes, James conceived that he might safely begin the process of changing the established religion of the country. On the plea of his supremacy over the church, he took the liberty of dispensing with the test-oath in favour of some Catholic officers, and thus broke an act which was looked upon, under existing circumstances, as the chief safeguard of the Protestant faith. His Parliament, servile as it was in temporal matters, took the alarm at this spiritual danger, and gave the king so effectual a resistance, that he resorted to a dissolution. Transactions exactly similar took place in Scotland.

241. Heedless of these symptoms, he proclaimed an universal toleration, for the purpose of relieving the Catholics,

and thus assumed the unconstitutional right of dispensing with acts of Parliament. The nation was thrown by this measure, and by the numerous promotions of Roman Catholics, into a state of great alarm; even the clergy, who had been so eager to preach an implicit obedience to the royal will, began to see that it might be productive of much danger. When James commanded that his proclamation of toleration should be read in every pulpit in the country, only two hundred of the clergy obeyed. Six of the bishops joined in a respectful petition against the order; but the king declared that document to be a seditious libel, and threw the petitioners into the Tower. In June 1688, they were tried in Westminster Hall, and, to the infinite joy of the nation, acquitted.

242. Blinded by religious zeal, the king proceeded on his fatal course. In defiance of the law, he held open intercourse with the Pope, for the restoration of Britain to the bosom of the Romish church. He called Catholic lords to the Privy Council, and even placed some in the cabinet. Chapels, by his instigation, were every where built, and monks and priests went openly about his palace. A court of high commission—a cruel instrument of power under Charles I.—was erected, and before this every clerical person who gave any offence to the king was summoned. He also excited great indignation, by violently thrusting a Catholic upon Magdalen College, at Oxford, as its head, and expelling the members for their resistance to his will. Public feeling was wound to the highest pitch of excitement by the queen being delivered (June 10, 1688) of a son, who might be expected to perpetuate the Catholic religion in the country, and whom many suspected to be a supposititious child, brought forward solely for that purpose.

GENERAL DISAFFECTION.

243. The disaffection produced by these circumstances extended to every class of the king's subjects, except the small body of Roman Catholics, many of whom could not help regarding the royal measures as imprudent. The Tories were enraged at the ruin threatened to the Church

of England, which they regarded as the grand support of conservative principles in the empire. The Whigs, who had already made many strenuous efforts to exclude or expel the king, were now more inflamed against him than ever. The clergy, a popular and influential body, were indignant at the injuries inflicted upon their church; and even the dissenters, though comprehended in the general toleration, saw too clearly through its motive, and were too well convinced of the illegality of its manner, and of the danger of its object, as affecting the Protestant faith, to be exempted from the general sentiment. But for the birth of the Prince of Wales, the people at large might have been contented to wait for the relief which was to be expected, after the death of the king, from the succession of the Princess of Orange, who was a Protestant, and united to the chief military defender of that interest in Europe. But this hope was now shut out, and it was necessary to resolve upon some decisive measures for the safety of the national religion.

PRINCE OF ORANGE CALLED OVER.

244. In this crisis, some of the principal nobility and gentry, with a few clergymen, united in a secret address to the Prince of Orange, calling upon him to come over with an armed force, and aid them in protecting their faith and liberties. This prince, who feared that England would soon be joined to France against the few remaining Protestant powers, and also that his prospects of the succession in that country, as nephew and son-in-law of the king,* were endangered, listened readily to this call, and immediately collected a large fleet and army, comprising many individuals, natives of both Scotland and England, who had fled from the severe government of the Stuart princes. The preparations for the expedition were conducted with great secrecy, and James was partly blinded to them, by a rumour

* The mother of the prince was Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of Charles I., and sister of James II. Failing the infant Prince of Wales, his own wife, and the Princess Anne, the two daughters of the king, he was the heir of the British crown.

that their only object was to frighten him into a closer connexion with France, in order to make him odious to his subjects. When he was at length assured by his minister in Holland that he might immediately expect a formidable invasion, he grew pale, and dropped the letter from his hands. He now saw the necessity of providing for his own safety, as well as of endeavouring to regain the affections of his people. He immediately ordered his fleet to be assembled, and his army to be recruited with new levies. He sent for troops from Scotland and Ireland; and, to his no small satisfaction, found his land forces amount to 40,000 men.

245. Nor was the king less liberal of his civil concessions than vigorous in his military preparations. He had already issued writs for the meeting of Parliament on the 27th of the ensuing November. He followed these with a declaration, that it was his fixed purpose to endeavour to establish the legal settlement of an universal liberty of conscience for all his subjects; that he had resolved to preserve inviolate the Church of England; and he protested that it was his intention that Roman Catholics should remain incapable of sitting in the House of Commons. He gave orders to the Lord Chancellor, and the lords-tenant of the several counties, to replace all the deputy-tenants and justices who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and the penal laws against nonconformists: he restored the charter of London, and the charters of all the corporations in the kingdom. he annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission. he reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen College: and he invited again to his councils all the bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted, assuring them that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for the security of the Protestant religion and the civil rights of his subjects.

246. But these concessions, though important in themselves, were made too late to be allowed much merit; and being generally supposed to be extorted by fear, they were coldly received by the nation. Nor did the conduct of the king, in other respects, correspond with such conciliating measures. On a rumour that the fleet of the Prince of

Orange had been put back by a tempest, he recalled the writs for the meeting of Parliament, without issuing any new ones; a step which created universal suspicion of his sincerity, and a belief that all his concessions were no more than temporary expedients. He showed, however, a laudable zeal for his own honour, in obtaining a legal proof of the birth of the Prince of Wales.

THE REVOLUTION.

247. On the 19th of October, the expedition of the Prince of Orange sailed from the Brille and from Helvoetsluys, consisting of 50 ships of war, 25 frigates, 25 fire-ships, and 500 transports, containing 15,000 land troops. A storm occasioned some damage and delay, but he soon put to sea again, and proceeded with a fair wind along the British Channel, exhibiting from his own vessel a flag, on which were inscribed the words, "THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND," with the apposite motto of his family, "*Je Maintiendrai*"—I will maintain. As he passed between Dover and Calais, his armament was visible to crowds of spectators on both shores, whose feelings were much excited at once by its appearance and its well-known purpose. The English fleet being detained at Harwich by the same wind which was so favourable to the prince, he landed (November 5) without opposition at Torbay, and immediately proceeded to circulate a manifesto, declaring the grievances of the kingdom, and promising, with the support of the people, to redress them.

248. At the first, there seemed some reason to fear that the prince would not meet with adequate support. On his march to Exeter, and for eight days after arriving there, he was not joined by any person of consequence. The nation, however, soon became alive to the necessity of giving him encouragement. The gentry of Devon and Somerset-shires formed an association in his behalf. The Earls of Bedford and Abingdon, with other persons of distinction, repaired to his quarters at Exeter. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the city of York was seized by the Earl of Danby; the Earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared

for the prince; and the Earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. Every day discovered some new instance of that general confederacy into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. But the most dangerous symptom, and that which rendered his affairs desperate, was the defection of the army. Many of the principal officers were inspired with the prevailing spirit of the nation, and disposed to prefer the interests of their country to their duty to their sovereign.

249. The example of desertion was set by Lord Colchester, son of the Earl of Rivers, and by Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Charendon. The king had arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received this alarming intelligence; but as the soldiers in general seemed firm in their allegiance, and the officers in a body expressed their abhorrence of such treachery, he resolved to advance upon the invaders. Unfortunately for his affairs, the Dutch had already taken possession of Axminster. A sudden bleeding at the nose, with which the king was seized, occasioned a delay of some days; and farther symptoms of defection appearing among the officers, he judged it prudent to retire towards London. Lord Churchill, afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough, and the Duke of Grafton, natural son of Charles II., who had given their opinion for remaining at Salisbury, now fled under cover of the night to the Prince of Orange. Successive misfortunes poured in upon the unfortunate monarch. Trelawney, who occupied an advanced post at Warminster, deserted with all his captains, except one. Prince George of Denmark, the king's son-in-law, and the young Duke of Ormonde, left him at Andover. Every day diminished the number of his officers; and to increase his accumulated misfortunes, he found, on his arrival in London, that his favourite daughter, Anne, Princess of Denmark, had secretly withdrawn herself the night before, in company with Lady Churchill. All his firmness of mind left him; tears started from his eyes; and he broke out into sorrowful exclamations, expressive of his deep sense of his now lost condition. "God help me!" cried he, in the agony of his heart; "my own children have forsaken me!"

250. In the greatest perplexity, he summoned a council of peers, by whose advice writs were issued for a new Parliament, and commissioners dispatched to treat with the prince. A kind of infatuation now took possession of the king, and, having sent the queen and the infant prince privately to France, he quitted the capital at midnight, almost unattended, for the purpose of following them, leaving orders to recall the writs and disband the army. By this procedure the peace of the country was imminently endangered ; but it only served to hasten the complete triumph of the Prince of Orange, who had now advanced to Windsor. The supreme authority seemed on the point of falling into his hands, when, to his great disappointment, the king, having been discovered at Feversham, in Kent, was brought back to London, not without some marks of popular sympathy and affection. There was no alternative but to request the unfortunate monarch to retire to a country house, where he might await the settlement of affairs. James, finding his palaces taken possession of by Dutch guards, and dreading assassination, took the opportunity to renew his attempt to leave the kingdom. He proceeded on board a vessel in the Medway, and, after some obstructions, arrived safely in France, where Louis readily afforded him an asylum.

251. The same day that the king left Whitehall for the last time, his nephew and son-in-law arrived at St James's. The public bodies immediately waited on him, to express their zeal for his cause ; and such of the members of the late Parliaments as happened to be in town, having met by his invitation, requested him to issue writs for a convention, in order to settle the nation. He was in the same manner, and for the same purpose, requested to call a convention in Scotland. The English convention met on the 22d of January 1689, and during its debates the prince maintained a magnanimous silence and neutrality. The Tory party, though it had joined in calling him over, displayed some scruples respecting the alteration of the succession, and seemed at first inclined to settle the crown on the princess, while William should have only the office of regent ; but when this was mentioned to the prince, he calmly replied, that in that event, he should immediately return to

Holland. A bill was then passed, declaring that "James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, by breaking the *original contract* between the king and people, and having withdrawn himself from the kingdom, has *abdicated* the government; and that the throne is thereby become *vacant*." To the bill was added, what was called a *Declaration of Rights*, namely, an enumeration of the various laws by which the royal prerogative and the popular liberties had formerly been settled, but which had been violated and evaded by the Stuart sovereigns. William and Mary, having expressed their willingness to ratify this declaration, were proclaimed king and queen jointly—the administration to rest in William, and the convention was then converted into a Parliament.

252. In Scotland, where the Presbyterians had resumed an ascendancy, the convention came to a less timid decision. It declared that James, by the abuse of his power, had *forfeited* all right to the crown—a decision also affecting his posterity; and William and Mary were immediately after proclaimed. By a bill passed in the English Parliament, the succession was settled upon the survivor of the existing royal pair, next upon the Princess Anne and her children, and, finally, upon the children of William by any other consort; an arrangement in which no hereditary principle was overlooked, except that which would have given a preference to James and his infant son.

253. By the Revolution, as this great event was styled, it might be considered as finally decided that the monarchy was not a divine institution, superior to human challenge, as the late kings had represented it, but one dependent on the people, and established and maintained for their benefit. Many advantages, of smaller importance, though of more direct and practical utility, resulted from the change. The Episcopal Church, which in Scotland had occasioned incessant discontent and disturbance for the last twenty-eight years, was abolished in that kingdom, and the favourite Presbyterian forms were established, to the almost universal satisfaction of the nation. By an act passed in the English Parliament, the dissenters from the Church in England were freed from the severities to which they had been exposed

during the last two reigns. The royal revenue, which had formerly been fixed at the beginning of each reign, was now settled annually by the House of Commons, so that the king was more under the control of his people than formerly. The independence and impartiality of the judges were now secured by their being appointed for life, or during good behaviour, instead of being removable at the royal pleasure as heretofore. William is said to have wished to grant some further concessions in favour of the Dissenters, but was prevented by the powerful opposition which the Tory party presented in Parliament.

RESISTANCE IN SCOTLAND.

254. The new government was at first extremely popular in Scotland; but one portion of the people was much opposed to it. This consisted of the Highland clans, a primitive race, unable to appreciate the rights which had been gained, prepossessed in favour of direct hereditary succession, and of such warlike habits, that, though a minority, they were able to give no small trouble to the peaceful Lowlanders. When the Scottish convention was about to settle the crown on William and Mary, Viscount Dundee, formerly Graham of Claverhouse, and celebrated for his severity upon the recusant Presbyterians, raised an insurrection in the Highlands in favour of King James, while the Duke of Gordon, a Catholic, still held out Edinburgh Castle in the same interest. It was with no small difficulty that the new government could obtain the means of reducing these opponents. The castle, after a protracted siege, was given up in June (1689). General Mackay was dispatched by William, with a few troops, to join with such forces as he could obtain in Scotland, and endeavour to suppress the insurrection in the Highlands. He encountered Dundee at Killiecrankie (July 27), and, though his troops were greatly superior in number and discipline, experienced a complete defeat. Dundee, however, fell by a musket-shot in the moment of victory, and his army was unable to follow up its advantage. In a short time the Highland clans were induced to yield a nominal obedience to William and Mary.

RESISTANCE IN IRELAND.

255. In Ireland, a much more formidable resistance was offered to the Revolution settlement. Since the accession of James, the Romish faith might be described as virtually predominant in that kingdom. The laws against Catholics had been suspended by the royal authority, all public offices were filled by them, and, though the established clergy were not deprived of their benefices, very little tithe was paid to them. The viceregal office was held by the Earl of Tyrconnel, a violent and ambitious young man, disposed to second the king in all his imprudent measures, and resolved, in the event of their failing, to throw the country into the hands of the French. The people at large, being chiefly Catholics, were warmly attached to the late sovereign, whose cause they regarded as their own.

256. Early in the spring of 1689, James proceeded from France to Ireland, where he was soon at the head of a large though ill-disciplined army. He immediately ratified an act of the Irish Parliament for annulling that settlement of the Protestants upon the lands of Catholics, which had taken place in the time of Cromwell, and another for attainting two thousand persons of the Protestant faith. The Protestants, finding themselves thus dispossessed of what they considered their property, and exposed to the vengeance of a majority over whom they had long ruled, fled to Londonderry, Linskillen, and other fortified towns, where they made a desperate resistance, in the hope of being speedily succoured by King William. That sovereign now led over a large army to Ireland, and (July 1) attacked the native forces under his father-in-law at the fords of the Boyne, near the village of Dunore, where he gained a complete victory.

257. James was needlessly dispirited by this disaster, and lost no time in sailing again to France. In reality, the Irish made a better appearance, and fought more vigorously, after the battle of the Boyne, than before it. The Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James, and the Earl of Tyrconnel,

still kept the field with a large body of cavalry, and the infantry were in the mean time effectually protected in the town of Limerick. William invested this town, and, in one assault upon it, lost two thousand men, which so dispirited him, that he went back to England, leaving his officers to prosecute the war. The Irish army afterwards fought a regular battle at Aghrim, when, partly owing to the loss of their brave leader, St Ruth, they were totally routed. The remains of the Catholic forces took refuge in Limerick, where they finally submitted in terms of a treaty which seemed to secure the Catholic population in all desirable rights and privileges. It was agreed that they should receive a general pardon; that their estates should be restored, their attainders annulled, and their outlawries reversed; that Roman Catholics should enjoy the same toleration as in the days of Charles II., and not be disturbed in the exercise of their religion; that they should be restored to all the privileges of subjects, on simply swearing allegiance to the king and queen, and that such as chose to follow the fortunes of James (of whom there was a vast number), should be conveyed to the Continent at the expense of government.

258. King William, whose disposition was tolerant, promised to procure a ratification of this treaty by Parliament, but he was thwarted in his design. An act was passed in England, making it necessary for all members of the Irish Parliament, and all persons filling civil, military, and ecclesiastical offices in Ireland, to take an oath abjuring the most important doctrines of the Catholic faith. After this had taken effect, in the filling of the Irish Parliament with Protestants, an act was passed by that assembly, professing to be a confirmation of the treaty of Limerick, but in reality putting the Catholics into a worse condition than before. The Irish Protestants appear at this time to have acted under a conviction that their own safety and the peace of the nation could not be maintained, unless the Catholics were treated with all those severities which are usually practised for the repression of a conquered people.

TROUBLES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

259. Though all military opposition was thus overcome, William soon found difficulties of another kind in the management of the state. The Tories, though glad to save the established church by calling in his interference, had submitted with no good grace to the necessity of making him king; and no sooner was the danger past, than their usual principles of hereditary right were in a great measure revived. From the name of the exiled monarch, they now began to be known by the appellation of *Jacobites*. James's hopes of a restoration were thus for a long time kept alive, and the peace of William's mind was so much embittered, as to make his sovereignty appear a dear purchase. Perhaps the only circumstance which reconciled the king to his situation, was the great additional force he could now bring against the ambitious designs of Louis XIV. Almost from his accession he entered heartily into the combination of European powers for checking this warlike prince, and conducted military operations against him every summer in person. The necessity of having supplies for that purpose rendered him unfit, even if he had been willing, to resist any liberal measures proposed to him in Parliament, and hence his passing of the famous Triennial Act in 1694, by which it was appointed that a new Parliament should be called every third year. In this year died Queen Mary, without offspring; after which William reigned as sole monarch.

GLENCOE MASSACRE—DARIEN EXPEDITION.

260. While William was treated in England with less than justice, he lost all his popularity in Scotland, in consequence of two separate acts, characterised by great cruelty and injustice. An order had been issued, commanding all the Highland chiefs, under pain of fire and sword, to give in their submission before the last day of the year 1691. One individual—Macdonald of Glencoe—was prevented by accident from observing the day, and letters of fire and

sword, signed by the king, were accordingly issued against him. The military party intrusted with this duty, instead of boldly advancing to the task, came among the clan as friends, partook of their hospitality and amusements, and never indicated their intentions till the morning of the 13th of February (1692), when they attacked the unsuspecting people in their beds, and mercilessly slew all that came in their way. Thirty-eight persons, including the chief and his wife, were slaughtered, and many others died in the snow, as they vainly tried to escape. A more atrocious action does not stain modern history, though the barbarous circumstances of the slaughter were more owing to feelings of private revenge on the part of some of the officials of government in Scotland, than to the intentions of William.

261. Two or three years after, the Scottish people began to turn their attention to commerce, by which they saw great advantages gained by neighbouring states, and they planned a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, which they thought might become an emporium for American and Indian produce. They subscribed among themselves, for this purpose, no less than £400,000; to which was added more than as much again by merchants in London and Holland. The jealousy of other trading companies, and the remonstrances of the Spaniards, who apprehended some interference with their colonies, induced the king to withdraw his countenance from the scheme, after he had sanctioned it by act of Parliament; but, nevertheless (1698), a gallant expedition was sent out by the Scots, who founded a town called New Edinburgh, about midway between Portobello and Carthagena, and under the ninth degree of latitude. During the winter months, every thing seemed likely to answer the expectations of the colonists; but summer brought disease, and, on their provisions running low, they found, to their infinite consternation, that they could get no supplies, the Spanish and British colonists of the neighbouring countries being forbidden to deal with them. In May and September 1699, ere intelligence of these circumstances could reach home, two other expeditions had sailed, containing 1800 men, who were involved on their arrival in the same disasters. After disease had swept off

many hundreds, the remainder were attacked by the Spaniards, who pretended a right to the country; and to these haughty enemies, who were countenanced in their proceedings by the British sovereign, the unfortunate colony was obliged to surrender. Very few ever regained their native country, and the large sums vested in the undertaking were irrecoverably lost. The massacre of Glencoe, and the Darien expedition, excited the most bitter feelings against the king in the breasts of the Scottish nation, among whom the Jacobite party thenceforward began to assume a formidable appearance.

END OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III.

262. The peace of Ryswick, concluded in 1697, by which the French power was confined to due limits, permitted William to spend the concluding years of his reign in peace. In 1700, in consideration that he and his sister-in-law Anne had no children, the famous Act of Succession was passed, by which the crown, failing these two individuals, was settled upon the next Protestant heir, Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, daughter of Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of James I.

263. About this time, the causes of a new war took their rise in certain disputes respecting the succession to the crown of Spain. The title to that sovereignty, in the event of the death of the existing king without heirs, was claimed by the King of France, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Emperor of Germany, through various female lines of descent. A treaty, to which England was a party, was entered into for preventing the whole from falling into the hands of the reigning family of France, whose possessions would then have been so great as to be inconsistent, it was thought, with the independence and safety of the neighbouring states. At the death of the King of Spain, a will was produced, in which it appeared that he had appointed the Duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, to be his successor. The French king lost no time in enforcing the pretensions of his grandson, who, under the title of Philip V., became the founder of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain.

264. About the same time (September 1701), James, the exiled English king, died at St Germain's, leaving his pretensions to his son, James, Prince of Wales, now a boy of thirteen years of age, and henceforth generally recognised in Britain by the epithet of the *Pretender*. Without regard to the treaty of Ryswick, Louis XIV. acknowledged this young person as JAMES THE THIRD, King of Great Britain, by which he added greatly to the hostile feeling which his other proceedings had already created in the British king and people. A war was accordingly in preparation, when King William died (March 2, 1702) in consequence of a fall from his horse.

265. William was a prince of commanding ability, particularly in military affairs. His ruling sentiment was a wish to reduce the power of the King of France, which he was able in no small degree to effect. His person was thin and feeble, and his ordinary demeanour cold, silent, and somewhat repulsive. It was only in battle that he ever became animated or easy. He was a conscientious man, of sober domestic habits, and sincerely attached to toleration in religion. But for the questionable act of expelling his uncle and father-in-law from the throne, and his concern in the affairs of Glencoe and Darien, no serious blot of any kind would have rested upon his name, either as a public or private person.

266. The reign of King William is remarkable for the first legal support of a standing army, and for the commencement of the national debt. It is also distinguished by the first establishment of regular banks for the deposit of money, and the issue of a paper currency. Formerly, the business of banking, as far as necessary, was transacted by goldsmiths, or through the medium of the public Exchequer, by which plans the public was not sufficiently ensured against loss. In 1695, the first public establishment for the purpose, *the Bank of England*, was established by one William Paterson, a scheming Scotsman; and next year the Bank of Scotland was set on foot by one Holland, an English merchant; the capital in the one case being only £1,200,000, and in the other the tenth part of that sum.

267. In the reign of King William flourished Sir William

Temple, an eminent political and philosophical writer, to whom is usually assigned the honour of first composing the English language in the fluent and measured manner which afterwards became general. The most profound philosophical writer of the age was John Locke, author of an *Essay on the Human Understanding*, an *Essay on Toleration*, and other works. Bishop Tillotson stands high as a writer of elegant sermons. The greatest name in polite literature is that of John Dryden, remarkable for his energetic style of poetry, and his translations of Virgil and Juvenal.

QUEEN ANNE—MARLBOROUGH'S CAMPAIGNS.

268. William was succeeded by his sister-in-law ANNE, second daughter of the late James II. ; a princess now thirty-eight years of age, and chiefly remarkable for her zealous attachment to the Church of England. The movement against the King of France had not been confined to Great Britain : it was a combination of that power with the Emperor of Germany and the States of Holland. Queen Anne found it necessary to maintain her place in the Grand Alliance, as it was termed ; and the Duke of Marlborough was sent over to the Continent with a large army to prosecute the war in conjunction with the allies. Now commenced that career of military glory which has rendered the reign of Anne and the name of Marlborough so famous. In Germany and Flanders, under this commander, the British army gained some signal successes, particularly those of Blenheim and Ramillies : in Spain, a smaller army, under the chivalrously brave Earl of Peterborough, performed other services of an important kind. The war, however, was one in which Britain had no real interest—for it has been seen that Spain has continued under a branch of the House of Bourbon, without greatly endangering other states.

269. A party, consisting chiefly of Tories, endeavoured, in 1706, to put an end to the war ; and France was so much reduced in strength, as to concede all the objects for which the contest had been commenced. But the people were so strongly inspired with a desire of humiliating France, which in commerce and religion they considered

their natural enemy, that some ambitious statesmen of a contrary line of politics were enabled to mar the design of a treaty. Among these was the Duke of Marlborough, who, being permitted to profit, not only by his pay but by perquisites attached to his command, wished the war to be protracted, merely that he might make his enormous wealth a little greater. It was in consequence of these unnecessary interferences with continental politics, urged chiefly by the people, and by a popular class of statesmen, that the first large sums of the national debt were contracted.

UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

270. Since their religious enthusiasm had been laid at rest by the Revolution Settlement, the Scottish people had been chiefly animated by a desire of participating in the commerce of England. The treatment of their expedition to Darien had now inspired them with a bitter feeling against their southern neighbours, and they resolved to show their power of counter-annoyance, by holding up threats of dissenting from England in the matter of the succession. In 1703, their Parliament passed the famous *Act of Security*, by which it was ordained that the successor of her Majesty in Scotland should not be the same with the individual adopted by the English Parliament, unless there should be a free communication of trade between the countries, and the affairs of Scotland thoroughly secured from English influence. Another act was at the same time passed, for putting the nation under arms. The English ministers then saw that an incorporating union would be necessary to prevent the Pretender from gaining the Scottish crown, and to protect England from the attacks of a hostile nation. For this purpose, they exerted themselves so effectually in the Scottish Parliament, as to obtain an act, enabling the queen to nominate commissioners for the arrangement of an union. The men appointed, thirty on each side, were, with hardly an exception, the friends of the Court and of the Revolution Settlement; and the treaty accordingly was framed without difficulty.

271. In October 1706, this document was submitted to

the Scottish Parliament, and was found to contain the following principal points :—that the two nations were to be indissolubly united under one government and legislature, each, however, retaining its own civil and criminal law ; the crown to be in the House of Hanover ; the Scottish Presbyterian church to be guaranteed ; forty-five members to be sent by the Scottish counties and burghs to the House of Commons, and sixteen elective peers to be sent to the Upper House by the nobles ; the taxes to be equalised, but, in consideration of the elevation of the Scotch imposts to the level of the English (for the latter people already owed sixteen millions), an equivalent was to be given to Scotland, amounting to nearly four hundred thousand pounds, which was to aid in renewing the coin, and other objects. These terms were regarded in Scotland as miserably inadequate ; and the very idea of the loss of an independent legislature and a place among governments, raised their utmost indignation. Nevertheless, by dint of bribery, the union was carried through Parliament ; and, from the 1st of May 1707, the two countries formed one state, under the title of the Kingdom of Great Britain.

HIGH CHURCH ENTHUSIASM.

272. Since the Revolution, the Whigs might be considered as the predominant party in England. They almost exclusively constituted the Ministries, and a large majority in the Parliaments, of King William. The sentiments of the queen were of a different cast from theirs. She disrespected the Revolution Settlement, by which she reigned ; and was more zealously attached than they to the Church of England, in all its doctrines, practices, and privileges. As the remembrance of the errors of King James faded from the public recollection, or were put out of view by more recent grievances, the people began to partake more generally of the Tory spirit. The Parliament which they returned at the beginning of the new reign, contained a much larger admixture of that party than the former one. The Tory feeling of both people and Parliament chiefly took the

direction of a strong attachment to the Church of England, which they wished to maintain in uncompromising supremacy, and in all its privileges ; while the Whig party, in general, were favourable to the toleration called for by the Dissenters. The distinction of High Church and Low Church now became conspicuous, the one phrase implying the ecclesiastical views of the Tories, while the other referred to those of the Whigs. In this Parliament, the House of Commons passed a bill against *occasional conformity*, by which penalties were imposed on all persons in office who should attend dissenting places of worship ; but it was thrown out by the Upper House, in which the bishops created by William voted against it.

273. An imprudent act of the ministry raised the High Church enthusiasm to an extraordinary height. A divine of inferior note, named Henry Sacheverell, had preached a violent sermon, in which he seemed to call upon the people to take up arms in defence of their endangered church. The ministers were so weak as to give this man a solemn trial, during which the people rose so tumultuously in his favour, that, though declared guilty, it was found impossible to inflict upon him more than a nominal punishment. After the trial, he received more marks of public reverence and honour than were ever bestowed on the greatest national benefactor. In proportion to the popularity of Dr Sacheverell, was the loss of public favour experienced by the Whig party. About the same time, through some court intrigues, they forfeited all remaining favour with their royal mistress. Mrs Masham, a lady of the court, and favourite of the queen, had contrived to introduce into the cabinet two Tory statesmen, Mr Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, and Mr Henry St John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke. These gentlemen having attempted to set up a party for themselves, their superior Lord Godolphin dismissed them, to the great displeasure of Queen Anne, who now resolved to get quit of the Whig party at the first opportunity. In August 1710, Harley and St John came into power, at the head of a decidedly Tory ministry, which, though of brief duration, was destined to make an important figure in the national history. The queen at the same

time called a new Parliament, which proved to be almost wholly composed of the Tory party.

PEACE OF UTRECHT—DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE.

274. The members of the new cabinet immediately applied themselves, though very secretly, to the business of bringing about a peace. When their plans were matured, the consent of the House of Commons was easily gained; but the Lords having shown some reluctance, it was found necessary to create twelve new peers, in order to overpower the sense of that part of the legislature. After a tedious course of negotiation, Britain and Holland concluded a peace at Utrecht (1713), leaving the Emperor of Germany still at war. By this arrangement, Philip V. was permitted to retain Spain and the Indies, but no other part of the dominions which his ambitious grandfather had endeavoured to secure for him; and it was provided that he and his descendants should never inherit the kingdom of France, nor any future king of France accede to the crown of Spain. Britain obtained nothing tangible by all her exertions, except the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, and the privilege of being exclusively employed to carry slaves to the Spanish American colonies. It has justly been considered a stain upon the nation, that it should have concluded a separate peace under such clandestine circumstances, as the interests of the other belligerent parties were thereby greatly injured. For the gratification of their High Church supporters, the ministers obtained an act for preventing Dissenters from keeping schools, and another for establishing church patronage in Scotland, the former of which was repealed in the following reign.

275. It has been questioned whether Queen Anne and her Tory ministry sincerely designed to allow the crown to fall to the family of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, in conformity with the Act of Settlement, or secretly contemplated the restoration of the main line of the Stuarts, in the person of the Pretender. Statesmen in that age acted with so much duplicity, that their real intents cannot easily be traced. Godolphin, Marlborough, Sunderland, Russell, and

others, who had been conspicuous in effecting the Revolution, and at all times acted with apparent consistency as Whigs, have been discovered, by the exposure of the papers of the Stuart family, to have conducted a secret correspondence with the exiled court, the return of which was for many years considered as a probable event. When we find eminent Whig leaders tampering with the Pretender, it requires the less to convince us that Queen Anne and her Tory ministers should have done so too. That the queen really wished to be succeeded by her brother, has not been proved; but it is extremely probable that, if he had embraced the Protestant faith, she would have made some effort in his favour. That Harley and St John intrigued with the Pretender for his restoration, was only suspected at the time, but has since been proved. Their design, however, was frustrated by a violent quarrel which took place between them, and the dread which each entertained of being exposed by the other. Before any plan could be formed, the queen took suddenly ill and died (August 1, 1714), when the ministers had no alternative but to proceed according to the Act of Settlement. The Electress Sophia being recently dead, her son, the elector, was proclaimed under the title of GEORGE THE FIRST.

276. The reign of Queen Anne is not more distinguished by the wonderful series of victories gained by Marlborough, than by the brilliant list of literary men who now flourished, and who have caused this to be styled the Augustan age of English literature, as resembling that of the Roman Emperor Augustus. Alexander Pope stands unrivalled in polished verse on moral subjects. Jonathan Swift is a miscellaneous writer of singular vigour and an extraordinary kind of humour. Joseph Addison wrote on familiar life and on moral and critical subjects with a degree of elegance before unknown. Sir Richard Steele was a lively writer of miscellaneous essays, and successful as a dramatist. This last author, with assistance from Addison and others, set on foot the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, the earliest examples of small periodical papers in England, and which continue to this day to be regarded as standard works. Cibber, Congreve, Vanburgh, and Farquhar, were distinguished writers

of comedy; and Prior, Philips, and Rowe, were pleasing poets. In graver literature, this age is not less eminent. Dr Berkeley shines as a metaphysician; Drs Sherlock, Atterbury, and Clark as divines; and Bentley as a critic of the Roman classics.

ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER—REBELLION OF
1715–16.

277. The new sovereign lost no time in coming over to Britain, and fixing himself in that heritage which his family has ever since retained. He was fifty-four years of age, of a good though not brilliant understanding, and very firm in his principles. Knowing well that the Whigs were his only true friends, he at once called them into the administration: the Tories he treated with contempt, if not absolute rudeness, being of opinion that it is needless to seek to conciliate enemies. It was, indeed, the custom of that period for every party, on getting into power, to try to annihilate their opponents. At the accession of the Tories to office in 1710, Marlborough had been deprived of his command, while Mr Robert Walpole, a rising Whig leader, was committed to the Tower. On the Whigs now regaining an ascendancy, they felt disposed to revenge these severities; and, accordingly, not only were the whole Tory party insulted by the king, but a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to prepare articles of impeachment against Oxford, Bolingbroke, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Strafford. Bolingbroke, perceiving his life to be in danger, fled to the Continent; and his attainder was in consequence moved and carried by his rival Walpole. Ormond suffered a similar fate. Oxford, after a protracted trial, was only saved in consequence of a difference between the Lords and Commons.

278. During the first year of King George, the Tories kept up very threatening popular disturbances in favour of High Church principles; but the Whigs, gaining a majority in the new House of Commons, were able to check this a little by the celebrated enactment called the *Riot Act*, which permits military force to be used in dispersing a crowd,

after a certain space of time has been allowed. Disappointed in their hopes of office and power, and stung by the treatment of their leaders, the Tories resolved to attempt bringing in the Pretender by force of arms. With an eager hopefulness, which for a long time was characteristic of the party, they believed that all England and Scotland were ready to take up arms for the Pretender, when in reality there was but a limited portion of the people so inclined, and that portion unwilling to move, if they saw the least risk. Blind to these circumstances, and without design or concert, they commenced the unfortunate civil war of 1715.

279. The Earl of Mar, who had been a secretary of state in the late administration, raised his standard in Braemar (September 6), without any commission from the Pretender, and was soon joined by Highland clans to the amount of 10,000 men, who rendered him master of all Scotland north of the Forth. There, however, he weakly permitted himself to be cooped up by the Duke of Argyle, who, with a far less numerous force, had posted himself at Stirling. Mar expected to be supported by an invasion of England by the Duke of Ormond, and a rising of the people of that country. But the duke completely failed in his design, and no rising took place, except in Northumberland. There Mr Foster, one of the members of Parliament for the county, and the Earl of Derwentwater, with some other noblemen, appeared in arms, but unsupported by any considerable portion of the people. Mar detached a party of eighteen hundred foot, under Mackintosh of Borlum, to join the Northumbrian insurgents, who complained that they had no infantry. The junction was managed with great address; and at the same time some noblemen and gentlemen of the south of Scotland attached themselves to the southern army. The government was ill provided with troops; but it nevertheless sent such a force against Mr Foster, as obliged him to retire with his men into the town of Preston, in Lancashire, where, after an obstinate defence, the whole party (November 13) surrendered themselves prisoners at the king's mercy. On the same day, the Earl of Mar met the Duke of Argyle at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, where a battle was fought, in which, after the manner of the battles in the civil war, the

right wing of each army was successful, but neither altogether victorious. The duke withdrew in the face of his enemy to Stirling, and the earl retired to Perth, resolved to wait for the news of an invasion from France, and for the arrival of the Pretender, whom he had invited to Scotland.

280. Mar did not for some time become aware how little reason he had to expect support from France. Louis XIV., upon whom the hopes of the party greatly rested, had died in September, leaving the government to the Regent Orleans, who had strong personal reasons for wishing to cultivate the good-will of the British monarch, and of course declined to assist in the present enterprise. The Pretender, nevertheless, sailed for Scotland, and, on the 22d of December, arrived incognito at Peterhead, bringing nothing but his own person to aid his adherents. Mar, who had already attempted to negotiate a submission to the government, brought him forward to Perth, where he was amused for some time with preparations for his coronation. But before he had been many days there, the Duke of Argyle found himself in a condition to advance against the insurgent force; and, on the 30th of January 1716, this unfortunate prince commenced a retreat to the north, along with his dispirited army. On the 4th of February, he and the Earl of Mar provided for their own safety by going on board a vessel at Montrose, and setting sail for France: the army dispersed itself into the Highlands. For this unhappy appearance in arms, the Earl of Derwentwater, Viscount Kenmure, and about twenty inferior persons, were executed; forty Scottish families of the first rank lost their estates, and many excellent members of society became exiles for the remainder of their lives.

CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENT UNDER GEORGE I

281. The suppression of this insurrection, and the ruin of so many Tory leaders, tended to increase the power of the Whig party, and the stability of the Hanoverian dynasty. The government, nevertheless, acted under considerable difficulties, as they were opposed by the majority of the clergy and country gentry, as well as by the whole of the mob

feeling, except in the large commercial towns. To avoid the hazard of too often appealing to the people, they carried, in 1716, a bill for repealing King William's Triennial Act, and protracting the present and all future parliaments to a duration of seven years. The chief popular support of the government was in the Dissenters, and the middle classes of the community. The Tories, by professing those popular doctrines, which are more usually maintained by the opposite party, gained all who were discontented either with their own condition or that of the nation. The favour of the king for his German counsellors, and the influence which he allowed his mistresses to exercise over him, formed excellent topics for opposition eloquence, but were not in reality attended with any bad consequences to the liberties of the people.

282. The year 1718 is remarkable for the last effort of the Church of England to maintain a separate political influence in the country. Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, one of a few prelates of Whig appointment who advocated moderate Church views, preached before the king, in the Chapel-Royal, a sermon "on the Nature of the Kingdom of Christ," in which he maintained that an Established Church was a mere human institution, for the purpose of teaching a particular faith; that it should have no authority to enforce its doctrines outwardly, and had no authority from God to enforce them on the mind. He farther maintained religious liberty as a right of the subject. At the next meeting of the Convocation of the English clergy, they were proceeding to pass a severe censure on the bishop, and to institute other proceedings, when they were suddenly interrupted by a dissolution. This body, which had heretofore passed all the laws for regulating the church, as far as permitted by Parliament, and had even granted supplies for the king, was never afterwards called together.

THE SOUTH SEA SCHEME.

283. From the peace of Utrecht, Britain remained free from foreign war for nearly thirty years, excepting that, in 1719, the ministry was called on to interfere for the repres-

sion of an attempt on the part of Spain to regain her Italian territories. A Scotsman, named Law, who had become comptroller-general of France, and amused that country with financial schemes, which at first promised to enrich, but finally almost ruined the country, was the means, in 1720, of inspiring the British people with a similar visionary project, called the South Sea Scheme. The wish of the ministry was, that some extensive company should buy up the debts of the nation, and either charge a smaller interest, or allow some other advantage to government, for certain commercial privileges to be given in return. On this project being made known, the Bank of England and the South Sea Company made competing offers, and the final offer of the latter was apparently so advantageous, that it was unhesitatingly accepted. According to the agreement, as finally fixed by act of Parliament, the South Sea Company were invested with certain exclusive privileges of trading. They were authorised to agree with the holders of government stock for the purchase of it; that is, they were entitled to buy up the debts of the government, and become the creditors of the nation. The stock in which these debts were invested was of different kinds, according to the terms on which the government had borrowed, being in some cases annuities—in others, fixed sums lying at interest. The Company, on becoming the creditors for these different debts, gave the government on each respectively better terms than the original creditors. Thus, they agreed to reduce the interest on the stock they should hold to four per cent, and to pay no less than seven millions into the Exchequer on account of the annuities purchased by them.

284. When the whole was agreed on, books were opened that the public might subscribe and become shareholders in the adventure. Those most deeply involved in it, circulated the most extravagant rumours about its probable success. It was said that Gibraltar and Minorca would be ceded to Spain, and in return, the South Sea Company would receive a monopoly of commerce with Mexico and Peru. The subscriptions filled up with great rapidity, and the deception was increased by the Court of Directors proclaiming a dividend of thirty per cent. for next Christmas; in other words,

that each hundred pounds deposited when the scheme was begun in April, was the means of bringing its owner thirty pounds of profit by Christmas. Those who had purchased stock were now considered fortunate men, and others were ready to buy from them at a high premium. The price rose till, to the astonishment of all calm on-lookers, it reached £1000; that is to say, people were content to pay a thousand pounds for the chance of what a hundred subscribed to the South Sea Company might produce. This was the gain of those who were concerned in the plot. They could sell their hundred pound shares for a thousand, knowing well, that even the former sum was more than the real value.

285. At length, an alarm was suddenly taken, and the price fell with more rapidity than it had risen. Thousands were ruined, and the nation was on the eve of anarchy. From this it was saved by the decided measures of the House of Commons, headed by Walpole, who was the best arithmetician of his age. A secret committee was appointed to examine the affairs of the South Sea Company, who reported, that, besides the dark deceptions which had been practised on the public mind, people high in station had been bribed to assist the measure, by getting large portions of stock for nothing. Lord Sunderland, the prime minister, and Mr Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, immediately resigned their offices, and the latter was expelled the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower. Various other punishments were inflicted on persons more or less connected with the transaction; but it was generally believed that those deepest in the conspiracy had influence to screen themselves from too minute inquiry. By an extremely complicated adjustment, the House of Commons equalised as nearly as possible the state of gain and loss among the innocent parties, and credit was restored. Walpole, after this service to his country, became Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, for upwards of twenty years from that period (April 1721), he must be looked on as the prime manager of the public affairs.

286. At the beginning of the reign of George I. the national debt amounted to fifty-three millions, and, owing

to there having been no war, it was rather less at the time of the king's death. The annual expenditure of the state was about seven millions, or scarcely a seventh part of what it now is. The commerce and manufactures of England continued to advance steadily during this reign; but Scotland and Ireland remained in an unimproved state. Roads were now for the first time made in the Highlands. The chief literary men were the same as those who had come into repute in the time of Queen Anne: in addition to them, John Gay is to be reckoned amongst the poets, and Waterland and Lauder amongst the divines. This was also more particularly the age of Daniel Defoe, a dexterous writer of pamphlets on the nonconformist side, but far more noted in later times on account of his admirable tale of "Robinson Crusoe."

GEORGE II.

287. George I., at his death in 1727, was succeeded by his son, GEORGE THE SECOND, a prince of moderate abilities, but conscientious, and free from all gross faults. The new monarch having been on bad terms with Walpole when Prince of Wales, was expected by the Tories to make some change in the ministry. Their endeavours to supplant the Whigs were baffled by Walpole, chiefly in consequence of that minister offering the queen a higher income than his rivals. In 1732, his enemies had another opportunity of shaking his power. Great frauds were proved to have taken place in the collection of the customs, although unavoidable from the method of levying the duties. A portion of these the minister proposed to levy as an excise. That species of duty cannot be levied without investigations into the private property of individuals, and of this circumstance full advantage was taken by the Opposition. The people, being effectually roused, surrounded the Parliament, crying out, "Liberty, property, and no excise." Sir Robert had a majority for his scheme in the House of Commons; but the clamour without compelled him to resign it. He left, however, an useful legacy to commerce, in the present bonding system, by which im-

ported goods are kept under the inspection of the custom-house until they are sold to the retailer, so that the importer has not to pay the duties, which, in many cases, are greater than the price of the goods, and would greatly hamper his means.

288. The sagacity and good nature of Sir Robert Walpole would have ensured to him a better reputation, if he had not maintained his influence so exclusively by bribery and corruption. He cherished as a leading maxim, that every man had his price, and, when that was ascertained, that there remained no difficulty but to raise the necessary sum, or confer the requisite favour. He acted so regularly upon this principle, and with so little decency, that the British Parliament became a mere mockery of a representative or deliberative body. Not that there was wanting a minority who, calling themselves patriots, declaimed loudly against the base practices of the ministry, and affected to stand up for the country. Sir Robert, however, looked upon these persons—and he perhaps was not far wrong—as only individuals whose price he had not been able to compass, or had not thought it worth while to disburse. It is a curious evidence of the corruptness of the times, that, when the legality of an election was disputed in the House of Commons, it was always decided in favour of the person who sided with the majority—in other words, with the government. It was when an election case was decided against him, that Walpole saw the necessity of retiring from office.

WAR WITH SPAIN, 1739.

289. After a peace of extraordinary duration, Walpole was urged, much against his will, into a contest with Spain, on account of some efforts made by that country to check an illicit trade carried on by British merchants in its American colonies. In searching vessels for the prevention of this traffic, the Spaniards had made some trifling aggressions; and British spirit took fire at the indignity of being liable to a search by any neighbouring state, even for the prevention of a notorious breach of treaty. The community therefore demanded a war, and the minister,

with great reluctance, was obliged to comply. One fleet, under Admiral Haddock, was sent to cruise off the coast of Spain, and another, under Admiral Vernon, was sent against the American colonies. The latter gained lustre by taking the important town of Portobello. Another and larger expedition, with 10,000 soldiers, was then sent to reinforce Vernon; but, owing to disputes between him and the commander of the troops, no farther triumphs were gained. A timid, ill-concerted, and ill-conducted attack upon the fortifications of Carthagena, lost Britain about 20,000 men. Meantime, a third fleet, under Anson, sailed to the western coast of Spanish America, in order to co-operate with Vernon; but only one of the vessels reached its destination. Anson, thus reduced in naval force, took several prizes off Chili, and plundered the town of Paita, but could venture upon no more hazardous enterprise. He cruised across the Pacific, in the hope of meeting one of the Spanish galleons, which usually contained great quantities of bullion; but did not succeed, till, on his return from refitting at Canton, he took the Manila transport, with treasure to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds. Though he had failed in all the proper objects of his expedition, the money he brought to the public treasury caused him to be very well received by the people; while the flagrant mismanagement at Carthagena was the subject of general execration.

WAR WITH FRANCE.

290. The Spanish war now languished for some time, while the attention of Britain was attracted to the proceedings of France. After the death of the Emperor Charles VI. of Germany, his dominions fell by inheritance to his daughter, the celebrated Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary. She was opposed in this succession by the sovereigns of France, Saxony, and Bavaria, all of whom pretended to have some claims on her dominions. A war was commenced against her; the Elector of Bavaria was crowned emperor, under the title of Charles VII.; and such was the success of the French arms, that she was soon reduced to the greatest distress. With this quarrel Britain had little reason for inter-

fering; but the king thought his dominions in Germany endangered, and the people were animated by their usual hostility to the French. Walpole, being conscientiously opposed to the war, allowed himself to be driven from office (February 1742), though he still continued to enjoy the respect of the king.

291. The ministry was recruited by the most popular men of the late minority, among whom the most conspicuous were Lord Carteret and the Earl of Bath. It was of course expected that these statesmen would lose no time, after they were in power, to effect some of those improvements in the constitution which they had formerly clamoured for. Indeed, nothing less than a total renovation of the constitution was expected. A number of motions to this purport were accordingly made in both houses of Parliament; but to the astonishment of the nation, they were all violently opposed and quashed by the very men who had lately maintained the principles on which they were founded, and whose former speeches had suggested many of them. The most important of these motions were the following three:—One for appointing a committee to “inquire into the conduct of affairs during the last twenty years;” one for bringing in a bill to “repeal the act for Septennial Parliaments;” and one “for excluding pensioners from the House of Lords.” Though German subsidies, standing armies, and continental connexions, had been the constant objects of the indignation of these men while out of place, and had furnished them with the occasion of some of the finest strokes of their popular eloquence, they extended their complaisance to the king in all these particulars much farther than their predecessors. Besides providing for subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, they procured a vote of half a million to the Queen of Hungary; they augmented the land forces to 62,500; they transported to the Low Countries 16,000 British troops, under the Earl of Stair, to make a diversion in favour of Maria Theresa; and they ordered these troops to be joined by 6000 Hessians, and 16,000 Hanoverians, who were paid by British money to fight the battles of their own country.

292. About the time when Great Britain entered into

this struggle, the affairs of the Hungarian queen took a surprising turn, and her armies, under her husband the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Prince Charles of Lorraine, and other eminent commanders, began to drive her enemies from her dominions. France, having lost 100,000 men in the contest, sued for peace, but this the queen haughtily refused, in the hope of gaining still greater triumphs by means of Britain. The aid of that power, as it turned out, was of little service to the queen. The Earl of Stair had permitted his army to get into a position of great difficulty at Aschaffenburg, on the Upper Maine, and, but for a blunder of the French, it would probably have been starved into a surrender, along with the king and prime minister (Carteret), both of whom had recently joined it. The blunder consisted in an attack made by the Duke of Gramont, with 30,000 troops, upon the British and Hanoverian infantry, upon a plain near the village of Dettingen (June 16, 1743). The infantry, cheered by the presence of the king, who rode between the lines with his sword drawn, received the charge of the French cavalry with great firmness, and compelled them to retreat—a movement which communicated a panic to the whole French army, and might have been attended with the most disastrous consequences, if the British monarch would have permitted his advantage to be followed up. This was the last occasion of a king of Great Britain appearing on the field of battle.

293. The death of the Emperor Charles VII., for whom this great European contest appeared to have taken its rise, might have now given an opportunity for the cessation of hostilities; but the French thought the war still necessary, in order to prevent the husband of Maria Theresa from being elected emperor, and the British were still animated by their usual antipathy to the French. A campaign was therefore opened in Flanders, the troops of the French nation being commanded by Count Saxe, distinguished for military genius and experience; while the British and Hanoverian army was under the charge of the young Duke of Cumberland, second son to the king. To animate the French troops, their sovereign (Louis XV.) and the dauphin attended the camp. The French having invested

Tournay, it was resolved by the English to hazard a battle, in order to save that strong city.

294. The rencounter took place (May 1745) at Fontenoy, near the bridge of Colonne. The British infantry advanced under Cumberland, and, notwithstanding a tremendous fire, which swept them off in whole ranks, attacked the centre of the position of the French army, which they beat back in so furious a style, that Saxe advised the king to retire for the safety of his person. Louis bravely refused to stir, being apprehensive that a retrograde motion on his part would decide the day against his army. Ashamed to desert their sovereign, the French returned to the charge; the cavalry renewed their efforts; and other circumstances conspired to give a turn to the battle. The British cavalry were prevented by a mistake from giving their support to the infantry; and the Dutch and Austrian part of the army was found totally ineffective. Assailed on all sides, fatigued with their great exertions, and galled by the French batteries, the infantry was obliged to retire, with a loss of 7000 men, after having beaten every regiment in the French army. The Duke of Cumberland, though able to withdraw in good order, did not venture after this disaster to face the enemy during the whole campaign. Nevertheless, the Queen of Hungary at this time gained the summit of her wishes, by the election of her husband to the imperial throne.

REBELLION OF 1745.

295. The Pretender had married, in 1719, the Princess Clementina Sobieski of Poland, and was now the father of two sons in the bloom of youth, the elder of whom has been distinguished in history by the title of Prince Charles Stuart. The misfortunes of the British arms on the Continent, and the dissensions which prevailed among the people and the Parliament, encouraged this prince to make an attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors. In 1744, he had been furnished by France with a large fleet and ample stores to invade the British dominions, but had been driven back by a storm, and prevented from again setting sail by a superior fleet under Sir John Norris. The object

of France in this enterprise was to produce a diversion in favour of her own army in the Netherlands. At present, in consequence of the victory of Fontenoy, such an enterprise was no longer necessary; but though the French monarch would not grant him any farther supply, Charles resolved to make the proposed attempt, trusting solely to the generosity and valour of his friends in Britain. He therefore landed from a single vessel, with only seven attendants, on the coast of Inverness-shire, where the clans most attached to his family chiefly resided. By merely working upon the ardent feelings of the Highland chiefs, he soon induced several of them to take up arms, among whom were Lochiel, Clanranald, Glengary, and Keppoch.

296. On the 19th of August, he raised his standard at Glenfinnan, within a few miles of the government station of Fort William, and found himself surrounded by about 1500 men. The government was at first inclined to disbelieve the intelligence of these proceedings, but was soon obliged to take steps for its own defence. A reward of thirty thousand pounds was offered for the head of the young prince, who, with all his family, was under attainder by act of Parliament; and Sir John Cope, commander of the forces in Scotland, was ordered to advance with what troops he had into the Highlands, and suppress the insurrection. Cope proceeded on this mission with about 1400 infantry; but on finding the Highlanders in possession of a strong post near Fort Augustus, he thought it necessary to go aside to Inverness. Charles, taking advantage of this ill-judged movement, immediately poured his clans down into the Lowlands, gaining accessions every where as he advanced; and, there being no adequate force to oppose him, he took possession successively of Perth and Edinburgh.

297. At the latter city, Charles took up his residence in Holyrood-House, and caused his father to be solemnly proclaimed king, and himself prince regent. He was here joined by 1000 fresh troops from the Highlands, but found it impossible to raise any recruits in the city. Having learned that Cope had transported his troops into the Lowlands by sea, and was advancing through East Lothian to

meet him, he put his army in motion, and soon came in sight of the English forces, which had taken up a position on a field to the east of the village of Preston. The two armies amounted each to about 2000 men; but Cope had the advantage of dragoons and artillery. The prince lay all night on a field in the midst of his Highlanders, and, before daylight next morning (September 21), led his forces by stealth into the plain on which the royal troops were reposing, where he formed them in two lines, the best armed clans occupying the front. A rapid advance was then made against the English army, which had hardly time to arrange itself, when the Highlanders, after a discharge of fire-arms, rushed upon them sword in hand. The uncertain light, the suddenness of the attack, and the ignorance of the troops as to the mode of warfare pursued by the Highlanders, all tended to inspire a panic in the assailed party. The two regiments of dragoons instantly fled, leaving the foot comparatively defenceless. The artillery was but once discharged, when the Camerons overpowered those who had the charge of it. Some companies of infantry alone stood firm, under the direction of Colonel Gardiner, but in a few minutes the whole were cut down, or swept off the field, and there was only a confused flight, in which the broadswords of the clans were used with unsparing vigour. Nearly the whole infantry, 1400 in number, were either killed or taken prisoners, and the military chest, and other stores of the army, became a prize to the victors. Gardiner, a man of highly virtuous character, and a good officer, was amongst the slain. Charles returned next day to Edinburgh in triumph; and the fruits of his success were soon seen in the large accessions of force which he received, including the Earls of Kelly and Kilmarnock, Lords Elcho, Pittligo, Ogilvie, Balmerino, and other noble and distinguished persons.

298. Such was the defenceless condition of England at this juncture, and such the consternation inspired by the defeat of Cope, that if Charles could have immediately led four or five thousand men into that country, he might have easily taken possession of the capital. He was detained six weeks before he could collect the requisite forces, and in

the mean time troops more numerous in proportion were brought over from Flanders to oppose his progress. He commenced his march, November 1, and entered England at the western border. Carlisle, after holding out three days, surrendered to him. He pressed on through Westmoreland, disregarding a small army under General Wade at Newcastle, and, November 29, entered Manchester. He expected that before this time the English Jacobites would have been flocking to his standard; but they still waited to see the risk of such a movement somewhat lessened. Two hundred recruits, whom he raised at Manchester, and placed under the command of a Catholic gentleman named Townly, were all the addition he could gain to his army in England. To oppose his march, an army of 10,000 men was now rendezvoused in Staffordshire, under the Duke of Cumberland. Nevertheless, he still pushed on, hoping that Wales would produce some considerable reinforcements. By a dexterous movement, he eluded Cumberland's army, and, December 4, reached Derby, where he was only a hundred and thirty miles from the metropolis.

299. The principal officers of the Highland army now saw so much danger in a further advance, that, after a day's halt at Derby, they determined to return to Scotland. In this resolution they were violently opposed by the Prince, who appears to have made up his mind to every hazard, but was unable to control men who rather might be described as his friends than as his officers. The retreat was commenced, December 6, and with such skill and secrecy was it conducted, that the army of the Duke of Cumberland never came up with the insurgents. A garrison, which had been left in Carlisle, surrendered to the Duke, who, being recalled on the rumour of a French invasion on the southern coast of England, left General Hawley to prosecute the war in Scotland.

300. Prince Charles conducted his forces by Glasgow to Stirling, where he was joined by large reinforcements from Perth, while the English general concentrated his troops in Edinburgh. The two armies, nearly equal in number, came to an action, January 17, 1746, at Falkirk, which ended in the disgraceful retreat of the royal army. The prince was

unable to make any use of this victory, and soon after found it necessary to withdraw his forces to the neighbourhood of Inverness, where he spent the remainder of the winter. The Duke of Cumberland now returned to put himself at the head of the royal troops, which had been augmented by 6000 auxiliaries under the Prince of Hesse. During the months of February and March, the Highland army was cooped up within its own territory, by the Hessians at Perth, and the royal troops at Aberdeen. At length, April 16, Prince Charles met the English army in an open moor at Culloden, near Inverness, and experienced a total overthrow. He had himself the greatest difficulty in escaping from the country, and the Highlands were subjected for several months to the horrors of military violence in all its worst forms.

301. To complete the subjugation of this primitive people, the hereditary jurisdictions under which they and the rest of the people of Scotland still lived, and by which the nobles and gentry were enabled to administer justice at their own discretion, were abolished by act of Parliament. Another act put an end to the tenure of ward-holdings, by which the land-proprietors were enabled to command the personal services, in peace and war, of those who lived on their estates. A third act prohibited the use of tartan and the ancient Highland fashion of clothes, which were supposed to have the effect of keeping alive the warlike spirit of the mountaineers. The two former of these measures, in connexion with the suppression of the Stuart cause, and some other circumstances, produced a marked improvement in the social state of the Scottish people. The government, it must be remarked, had hitherto acted towards Scotland in a harsh and partial spirit. The Highland families and others had been excluded from public employment, while their hereditary enemies of the Whig party, who found their own interest in such a state of things, were appointed to watch over them. Suspected and hated by the government, and governed by a faction, they had every temptation to continue in adherence to the exiled family. But when the government began to treat them in a milder spirit, and

admitted them to the army and other branches of the public service, their naturally generous and loyal feelings were turned as zealously in favour of the new dynasty as they ever had been in favour of the old. The middle of the eighteenth century may be described as the time when Scotland, after a long period of sloth and poverty, first began to make advances towards that equality with England, in respect of comfort and prosperity, which it has since attained.

PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

302. During the remainder of the war in which Britain and other powers were now engaged with France, the latter was generally successful by land, and unfortunate at sea, the contrary being the case with Britain. It is indeed a remarkable fact, that, from the time of Marlborough to that of Wellington, Great Britain hardly ever succeeded in any military, or failed in any naval, enterprise. In 1748, the two countries found, after nine years of contention, that their losses were equal, though in different departments of their strength. Thirty millions had been added to the national debt of Britain, and France had expended an equal sum. They therefore agreed, by a treaty formed at Aix-la-Chapelle, mutually to restore their respective conquests, and to go back to exactly the same condition in which they stood before the war. A more signal illustration could have scarcely been held forth of the important truth—that war is to the parties in general only a means of waste and loss, and can do no good to any man except at the expense of his neighbour.

COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES OF BRITAIN—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

303. For several years after this period the national resources underwent rapid improvement. The most respectable minister who immediately followed Walpole, was the Honourable Henry Pelham, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose commercial and

financial schemes were usually very successful. Since the reign of Elizabeth, the British had been active in planting and rearing colonies ; a means of national wealth first prosecuted with distinguished success by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, and afterwards by the Dutch. The British colonies in North America chiefly took their rise in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. The government having conferred upon them political constitutions, in which there were some liberal principles, they became a favourite resort for the English Dissenters, and others discontented with the institutions of their native country, who here formed a society accordant with their own notions, and became the parents of a hardy, pious, and industrious nation. The English establishments in the West India islands were of somewhat later date, the earliest being Barbadoes (1624), and the half of St Christopher's (1625). Soon after, some other small islands were added, and in 1655 Jamaica was taken by Cromwell from the Spaniards. The West India colonists at first cultivated little besides cocoa and indigo ; but before the conclusion of the seventeenth century, they had introduced the sugar cane, which has since been their chief and most lucrative product. In these colonies, as well as in those of North America, the introduction of slaves was unfortunately allowed and encouraged by the mother country, for facilitating labour.

304. In the reign of James I., a company of merchants, which finally settled, in 1698, into the association known by the name of the East India Company, began to form trading stations or factories on various parts of the coast of Hindostan, where the Portuguese and Dutch had already established a lucrative trade. This portion of the earth had been inhabited for many ages by a partially civilised people, acknowledging the sway of a sultan of Mahomedan descent, beneath whom there was something like a feudal gradation of provincial governors. The jealousy of the Dutch, and the rudeness and turbulence of the native rulers, threw great difficulties in the way of the East India Company ; but at the close of the reign of King William III., they had gained a considerable footing in the country, at three grand points, and established what were called the

Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, where their general affairs were administered by able officers. An embassy to Delhi, in 1713, obtained from the emperor, among other advantages, an exemption of their goods from duty in passing through the provinces of Bengal, and they consequently became the principal carriers from the ports of the Ganges. During the ensuing thirty years, they had prospered very rapidly, and they now possessed the following settlements:—Bombay; Dabul, in the province of Coucan; Carwar, in the province of North Canara; Tellicherry, on the Malubar coast, Alengo, on the coast of Travancore; Fort St David; Madras, Visigapatam and Balasore, on the Coromandel coast, and Calcutta.

305. The French had also endeavoured to obtain a share of the trade of Hindostan, and they now had settlements at Pondicherry, near Calcutta, and Chandernagore, on the coast of the Carnatic. The hostility of the French and English was transferred, with even increased force, to this distant region; and in 1746, the former attacked and took Madras. At the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, this settlement was restored to the English: but a disputed succession in the native Carnatic government soon after renewed the contentions of the two parties of settlers, one of whom sided with one pretender to the sovereignty, and the other with the opposite party, in the hope of rising to a commercial supremacy. In 1751 and 1752, a party of English troops, small in comparison with the armies employed in Europe, and conducted by a gentleman named Clive, who had recently been a clerk, obtained a series of victories over the opposite party, while peace reigned between the respective nations at home. The courts of France and England lost no time in putting a stop to these hostilities by a treaty, which was designed to give an equal dominion to the trading companies of the two countries on the east coast of the Indian peninsula, but never was definitively settled.

306. False maxims in commerce were the chief cause of the disputes of the English and French. A colony was at that time regarded as a thing which existed for the exclusive benefit of the country which had settled it, and accordingly the merchants of no other state were allowed to have any

intercourse with it. Other jealous notions of the same kind were entertained, while the French, who have never been very successful in establishing settlements, had a maxim peculiar to themselves, and very unfavourable to peace—that it was best to endeavour to seize the colonies of other nations after they had been fully formed. After the peace of 1748, having been baffled in many schemes of continental conquest, this lively nation began to turn their thoughts towards commercial wealth, which they perceived to be the foundation of that strength which Britain had displayed in so many contests. Excluded by Britain from many of the accustomed channels of commerce, they conceived themselves justified in commencing, from their settlements in the East Indies and Canada, an aggressive system with reference to the neighbouring possessions of the British, in particular, they drew a line of forts along the back settlements of the whole range of the British American colonies, from the Gulf of St Lawrence to the Mississippi, so as to prevent the settlers from advancing beyond the Appalachian mountains.

307. For two or three years the British government suffered these aggressions, and even insults of a more decided nature, to pass unresented; but at length it was found necessary, in 1756, to proclaim war. A campaign of a novel and difficult character was opened in North America, for the purpose of driving the French from their forts. All the first movements were attended with defeat and disaster. The French had gained the exclusive affection of the native Indians, who proved a dangerous and barbarous enemy to the British. Several of the forts were attacked, but without success: in the assault upon Ticonderago, two thousand men were killed. At length, on the accession of Mr William Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) to the office of Secretary of State, a more auspicious era commenced. The British troops and provincials became more experienced in the nature of the service. One after another, the principal forts fell into their hands; and a diversion was created by an attack upon Canada. In September 1759, General Wolfe reduced the town and fort of Quebec, though at the expense of his own life; and the whole colony soon after submitted to the British arms. Meanwhile, Colonel Clive

had been equally successful in the East Indies. He had destroyed the French settlement at Pondicherry, thereby securing to his country the whole coast of Coromandel; and by his famous victory at Plassey (June 26, 1756), over a combination of French and native forces, he laid the foundation of the great territorial power which the British have since gained in Hindostan. Thus it will be seen that the French were punished for the improper attempts to extend their colonies, by losing those which they formerly possessed.

308. While Britain was thus successful in two remote quarters of the world, she experienced a different fortune in Europe. Austria, Russia, and Poland, had combined with France against the new and rising power of Prussia, which was at present directed by Frederick II., commonly called Frederick the Great. Britain on this occasion became the ally of the Prussian monarch, not from any regard to her own interests, but in order that the king might be able to protect his Hanoverian dominions. Immense sums of money were raised from the British people, for the purpose of paying the troops of those very countries which the king was anxious to defend: the Duke of Cumberland was appointed their commander. This prince was so unfortunate (September 1757) as to bring an army of 40,000 men into an angular piece of country, from which there was no escaping, so that the whole were obliged to lay down their arms to the French, who then became masters of Hanover. Notwithstanding this failure on the part of his ally, Frederick was able, by his extraordinary military genius, and by British subsidies, to defend his dominions for several years against all the forces that Austria, France, and Russia, could bring against him. In the midst of this war (October 25, 1760), George II. died suddenly, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was succeeded by his grandson GEORGE THE THIRD, then only in his twenty-third year.

MISCELLANEOUS CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH THE
REIGN OF GEORGE II.

309. The chief domestic event of the reign of George II. was the rise of the religious sect called Methodists. The

church had for a considerable time been in a languid state ; amongst the community there was little religious feeling of a fervid character ; and at no previous time were there so many conspicuous writers against the main doctrines of Christianity. John Wesley, a clergyman of the established church, and several other individuals of an enthusiastic turn of mind, were prompted by these circumstances to attempt to rouse a more zealous piety amongst the people ; and in this object they were surprisingly successful. Another clergyman named Whitefield, gifted with oratorical powers which gave him great command over the feelings of an audience, proved of much service as an itinerant preacher in working this reformation. The consequence of these exertions was the organisation of a new religious body, generally called Methodists, comprehending a vast number of congregations in all parts of the kingdom, as well as in the American colonies.

310. Newspapers first acquired political importance in this reign. They originated in the time of the Commonwealth, but none of a regular periodical nature appeared till after the Restoration, when a busy writer named Roger L'Estrange established in London a weekly one called "The Intelligencer." Till the Revolution, such small and unimportant newspapers as existed, were trammelled by a licensing power and censorship. When these restrictions were removed, newspapers increased in number, till, in 1709, they were again restricted by the imposition of a penny stamp. In those days newspapers were chiefly conducted by a set of mean and poor writers, to whom the term Grub Street authors was generally applied, from their living in that wretched part of London. The influence which newspapers were calculated to have over the public mind, was first recognised by Sir Robert Walpole, who, while he never thought of giving the least encouragement to literature on its own account, liberally pensioned various editors who supported his government. About the beginning of this reign, there were, in London, one daily paper, fifteen three times a-week, and one twice a-week, besides a few country papers. A monthly pamphlet, begun in 1731 by Edward Cave, a London bookseller, under the name of the "Gentleman's

Magazine," was composed of the best articles from the newspapers; and thus originated the periodical works termed magazines, which are now conspicuous as vehicles of light literature and political discussion.

311. The peculiar literary genius of the age was shown in the fictitious prose writings of Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne, and in the pictures of Hogarth, all of which represent the national character in its greatest breadth. The novels of Richardson are equally accurate as descriptions of manners, but contain no trace of the same humour. Next in distinction to these writings, must be placed the essays of John Hawkesworth and Samuel Johnson, the latter of whom did a great service to literature in compiling a dictionary of the English language. James Thomson, William Collins, and Thomas Gray, rank high as poets. Carte and Echard were respectable historical writers, and philosophy was cultivated by Francis Hutcheson and David Hartley. Drs Conyers Middleton, Joseph Butler, and Isaac Watts, were the principal writers on religious subjects.

GEORGE III.—BUTE ADMINISTRATION—PEACE OF 1763.

312. Soon after his accession, George III. espoused the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, by whom he had a large family. One of his earliest political measures was to confer one of the state-secretaryships upon the Earl of Bute, a Scottish nobleman of Tory or Jacobite predilections, who had been his preceptor, and possessed a great influence over his mind. This, with other alterations, infused a peaceful disposition into his majesty's councils, which was not much relished by Mr Pitt. That minister, having secretly discovered that Spain was about to join France against Britain, and being thwarted in the line of policy which he consequently thought it necessary to assume, retired with a pension, and a peerage to his wife; after which the ministry was rendered still less of a warlike temper. A negotiation for peace was entered into with France, which offered, for that end, to give up almost all her colonial possessions. The demands of the British were, however, rather more exorbitant than France expected,

and not only was the treaty broken off, but Spain commenced those hostilities which Mr Pitt had foretold. Nevertheless, Britain continued that splendid career of conquest, which, except at the beginning, had been her fortune during the whole of this war. In a very few months, Spain lost Havannah, Manilla, and all the Philippine Isles. The forces of that country were also driven out of Portugal, which they had unjustly invaded. At sea the British fleets reigned every where triumphant, and at no former period was the country in so proud a situation. The ministry, however, were sensible that war, even with all this good fortune, was a losing game, and they therefore, much against the will of the nation, concluded a peace in February 1763.

313. By this treaty, Great Britain gave up a certain portion of her conquests, in exchange for others which had been wrested from her; but she was nevertheless a gainer to an immense amount. She acquired from the French Canada, that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, Cape Breton, Senegal, the islands of Grenada, Dominica, St Vincent's, and Tobago, with all the acquisitions which the French had made upon the Coromandel coast in the East Indies since 1749. From Spain she acquired Minorca, East and West Florida, with certain privileges of value. The continental states in alliance with Great Britain were also left as they had been. These advantages on the part of Great Britain had been purchased at the expense of an addition of sixty millions to the national debt (which now amounted in all to £133,959,270); but as the country had been dragged unwillingly into the war, this loss is only to be considered in the light of a misfortune, which the evil dispositions of neighbouring powers had rendered unavoidable.

TRANSACTIONS IN IRELAND.

314. Since the pacification at Limerick, Ireland had been ruled exclusively by the Protestant party, who, under the influence of feelings arising from local and religious antipathies, had visited the Catholics with many severities.

The oath which excluded Catholics from office had been followed, in 1698, by an act of the Irish Parliament, commanding all Romish priests to leave the kingdom under the penalty of transportation, a return from which was to be punishable by death. Another law decreed forfeiture of property and civil rights to all who should send their children abroad to be educated in the Catholic faith.

315. After the death of William III., who was much opposed to severities on account of religion, acts of still greater rigour were passed for preventing the growth of Popery. Any child of a Roman Catholic, who should declare himself a Protestant, was entitled to become the heir of his estate, the father merely holding it for his lifetime, and having no command over it. Catholics were made incapable of succeeding to Protestants, and lands, passing over them, were to go to the next Protestant heir. Catholic parents were prohibited from being guardians to their own children; no Protestant, possessing property, was to be permitted to marry a Catholic; and Catholics were rendered incapable of purchasing landed property, or enjoying long leases. These measures naturally rendered the Catholics discontented subjects, and led to much turbulence. The common people of that persuasion, being denied all access to justice, took it into their own hands, and acquired those lawless habits for which they have since been remarkable. Treachery, cruelty, and all the lower passions, were called into vigorous exercise. Even the Protestants, for their own sakes, were often obliged to connive at the evasion of laws so extremely severe, and which introduced much difficulty into all dealings with Catholics; but when any Protestant wished to be revenged upon a Catholic, or to extort money from him, he found in these laws a ready instrument for his purpose. By an additional act, in 1726, it was ordained that a Roman Catholic priest, marrying a Protestant to a Catholic, should suffer death; and, in order that legal redress might be still less accessible to the Catholics, it was enacted, in 1728, that no one should be entitled to practise as an attorney who had not been two years a Protestant.

316. The passing of a bill in 1719 by the English Parliament, declaring its power to legislate for Ireland, occa-

sioned general dissatisfaction, and caused the rise of a patriotic party in the Parliament and people of Ireland, who professed to look to the advantage of the country, as distinguished from that of Great Britain. The discontent of the Tory party mingled with this spirit; and the celebrated Swift, in 1724, blew it into a flame by his severe pamphlets, called the "Drapier's Letters," which professedly decried a new coinage of halfpence, but were in reality aimed at the English ministry. Deceptive as the aid of Swift certainly was, the very appearance of a countenancing of popular objects by a man of note and a clergyman of the Established Church, acted so powerfully on the feelings of the common people of Ireland, that he was for some time the most honoured man in the kingdom.

317. The discontents of the Catholics continued unabated, and the contentions of the patriotic party with the adherents of the English ministry were carried on with the utmost keenness in Parliament, when the rebellion in Scotland (1745) alarmed the government for the loyalty of Ireland. The Earl of Chesterfield, celebrated for his literary productions, was, in this exigency, sent for a short time as Lord-Lieutenant, and allowed to hold forth all possible encouragement to the Catholics and patriotic party. By discountenancing party distinctions, and giving the Catholics the full protection of the laws, he so effectually soothed and tranquillised the country, that, while the neighbouring Protestant kingdoms exhibited an army seeking the restoration of a Catholic prince, Ireland, though full of Christians of that persuasion, and bound to the Jacobite cause by many endeared associations, remained perfectly faithful to the Hanover dynasty. When the danger was past, the earl was recalled, and the former system resumed. The struggles of the patriots with the English ministerial party were continued with unabated violence down to the death of George II., without producing any marked benefit to Ireland, although at one time the former party gained an ascendancy in the native Parliament.

CASE OF MR WILKES.

318. Ever since the accession of the Brunswick family in 1714, the government had been chiefly conducted by the Whig party, who formed a very powerful portion of the aristocracy of England. Walpole, Pelham, Newcastle, and Pitt, had all ruled chiefly through the strength of this great body, who, till a period subsequent to the rebellion of 1745, seem to have had the support of the more influential portion of the people. After that period, when the Stuart claims ceased to have any effect in keeping the crown in check, a division appears to have grown up between the government and the people, which was manifested in various forms even before the demise of George II., but broke out in a very violent manner during the early years of his successor. George III., who had imbibed high notions of the royal prerogative from the Earl of Bute, showed, from the beginning of his reign, an anxious desire to extend the power of the crown, to shake off the influence of the great Whig families, and keep popular force of all kinds within strict limits.

319. A stranger, with no connexion in the country, a favourite, and moreover a man of unprepossessing manners, the Earl of Bute had neither the support of the aristocracy nor of the people. He was assailed in Parliament, and through the newspapers, with the most violent abuse, the unpopular peace furnishing a powerful topic against him. To this storm he at length yielded, by retiring (April 8, 1763).

320. Among the public writers who assailed the ministry, none was more virulent than Mr John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, and editor of a paper entitled the *North Briton*. Mr George Grenville, who succeeded Bute, commenced his career by prosecuting Wilkes for a libel, contained in the forty-fifth number of his paper, in which he had directly accused his Majesty of falsehood. The king's messenger, being provided with a general warrant against the editor, printers, and publishers of the *North Briton*, entered the house of Mr Wilkes, and apprehended him. After being

examined before the secretaries of state, he was committed to the Tower, and his papers were seized and sealed up. A few days after, he was brought to Westminster Hall by *habeas corpus*, and released by Chief-Justice Pratt, in consideration of his being a member of Parliament. The Parliament ordered the seditious paper to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman—an operation that produced a riot, not in itself dangerous, but serving to discover the angry spirit of the populace. Mr Wilkes was soon after expelled from the House of Commons, and found it convenient to retire to the Continent. One result of his case was favourable to the popular cause, a prosecution which he instituted against the secretary of state, on the plea that his seizure was illegal, terminated in a verdict of damages, and a declaration by Chief-Justice Pratt, that general warrants were inconsistent with the laws of England.

AMERICAN STAMP ACT.

321. The administration of Mr Grenville is memorable for the first attempt to tax the American colonies. In March 1765, an act for imposing stamps on those countries was passed, almost without comment, and by a great majority; no one apparently anticipating the resistance it was to meet with. The people of America were the descendants, in many instances, of persons who had fled from their native country in order to enjoy more liberal institutions in a world of their own forming. They might in some measure be described as a more liberalised class of Englishmen, with none of those aristocratic grades and institutions which served to keep the popular spirit in check at home. The attempt to subject them to taxation, while they had no representation, real or supposed, in the House of Commons, appeared to them as the commencement of a system which, if not resisted at the first, might in time reduce them to a kind of slavery. They therefore combined almost universally to resist the introduction of the stamped paper by which the tax was to be raised. Resolutions were passed in the various assemblies of the states, protesting

against the assumed right of the British legislature to tax them. The act itself was publicly and ignominiously burnt. The stamps, on arriving, were seized by an enraged multitude, and destroyed. Those who had accepted commissions to act as distributors, were forced by public oath to renounce all concern in them. In short, partly by popular violence, and partly by the declarations issued by the local legislative assemblies, the object of the act was completely defeated.

322. The conduct of the Americans produced great embarrassment in his Majesty's counsels; and it was long debated whether there would be most disadvantage in forcing the acceptance of the stamps, or in giving way to the demands of a people almost in open rebellion. It was at length agreed to repeal the act, but to accompany this favour by a declaration of the right of Great Britain to impose taxes on her colonies. The Americans appeared satisfied with the relief they had thus obtained from the immediate pressure of taxation, and did not seem much to regard the accompanying declaration, which was looked upon only as a salvo for the injured honour of the government.

323. Between the Stamp Act and its repeal, a change had taken place in the administration: the latter measure was the act of a Whig ministry under the Marquis of Rockingham, which, however, did not long continue in power, being supplanted by one in which Mr Pitt, now created Earl of Chatham, held a conspicuous place. The second Pitt administration was less popular than the first: the Earl of Chesterfield, reflecting on the title given to the minister, at the same time that he sunk in general esteem, called his rise a *fall up stairs*. All the ministries of this period laboured under a popular suspicion, probably not well founded, that they only obeyed the will of the king, while the Earl of Bute, as a secret adviser behind the throne, was the real though irresponsible minister.

324. At the suggestion of Mr Charles Townsend, a member of the Earl of Chatham's cabinet, it was resolved, in 1767, to impose taxes on the Americans in a new shape, namely, upon British goods imported into the colonies, for which there was some show of precedent. An act for im-

posing duties on tea, glass, and colours, was accordingly passed with little opposition. Soon after this, Mr Townsend died, and the Earl of Chatham, who had been prevented by illness from taking any share in the business, resigned. The Americans met the new burdens with the same violent opposition as formerly.

THE WILKES TUMULTS.

325. Early in 1768, a new administration was formed under the Duke of Grafton, a pupil of Chatham, and soon after a new Parliament was called. At the general election, Mr Wilkes re-appeared in England, though a sentence of outlawry still stood against him. He even ventured to become candidate for the county of Middlesex, where he was returned by a large majority. Having previously surrendered to the jurisdiction of the King's Bench, his outlawry was reversed, but by virtue of the verdicts which two courts had given against him, he was subjected to a fine and two years' imprisonment. On his arrest, Mr Wilkes quietly committed himself to the officers of justice, but was forcibly rescued by the populace; and in a riot subsequent to this violence, a young man, who had no participation in the tumult, was killed. During his imprisonment, Mr Wilkes was formally expelled the House, on the pretext that, by the vote of censure passed by the preceding Parliament, he was for ever disqualified from being a representative of the people. This decision incensed a great portion of the community, and the case became identified in their estimation with the liberties of the nation itself. Four times did the county of Middlesex return Mr Wilkes; but the rival candidate, Colonel Luttrell, with only a fourth of the votes, was accepted by the House.

326. These proceedings occasioned many keen debates in the House of Commons, where an Opposition of much talent and ardour of purpose now took up every popular question. Tumults of a dangerous character were constantly taking place; the cry of "Wilkes and Liberty" resounded every where, excepting only in Scotland, his scurrility against the Scotch having rendered him generally

detested in that quarter ; even the municipal bodies and corporations, though usually not easily moved by popular objects, became zealous partisans of Mr Wilkes, and thought it their duty to remonstrate with the king, on the high hand with which his government was conducted. At this agitated time (1769), an unknown writer, styling himself Junius, commenced a series of letters in a newspaper, animadverting in the most virulent manner on both the men and measures of the government. These compositions were the more remarkable, as, from the force and elegance of their style, they were evidently the production of some person, not only far above the usual character of newspaper writers, but fitted to rank with the first intellects of his day. The publisher of the newspaper was prosecuted for publishing them, but the author remained concealed, and his name has never yet been discovered.

MINISTRY OF LORD NORTH—THE CITY OF LONDON'S REMONSTRANCE.

327. At the opening of Parliament in January 1770, it was expected that the conspicuous topic in the king's speech would be the Middlesex election. The surprise was general, therefore, when it was found that the king did not make the least reference to the troubles respecting Mr Wilkes. The Opposition were enraged at this oversight, and moved, as an amendment to the address, that an inquiry ought to be made into the causes of the prevailing discontents ; on which occasion, Charles James Fox, afterwards so celebrated as a political leader, made his first speech in Parliament. The amendment was negatived by 254 against 138, which showed that the king was quite secure of the support of the House of Commons.

328. At this time, the Duke of Grafton retired from the cabinet, and his place was supplied by Lord North, son of the Earl of Guilford. The new ministry was the tenth which had existed during as many years, but the first in which the king might be considered as completely free of the great Whig families, who, by their Parliamentary influence, had possessed the chief power since the Revolu-

tion. This was the beginning of a series of Tory administrations, which, with few and short intervals, conducted the affairs of the nation down to the close of the reign of George IV.

329. The supposed injury which the cause of free election had sustained from the decision of the House of Commons, still for a time agitated the public mind. Forty-eight peers, including all the great Whig chiefs (Devonshire, Rockingham, Grosvenor, Fitzwilliam, Tankerville, King, &c.), besides the Earl of Chatham, made a public declaration that they should not cease their efforts till they had obtained full justice to the electors of Britain. The city of London, and some other corporations of note, presented remonstrances to the king on the same subject. The policy of the king and cabinet was to wear out the public fervour by dignified silence. No notice was therefore taken of these remonstrances. The city then prepared another address, in which, after lamenting that they had apparently incurred the royal displeasure, they renewed their remonstrances, and prayed for a dissolution of Parliament. On this occasion, the king said that he "should be wanting to the public, as well as to himself, if he made such an use of the prerogative as was inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution, of the kingdom."

330. An extraordinary circumstance then took place. The Lord Mayor, Beckford, a man of fearless spirit, asked leave to reply. In the confusion of the moment, permission was granted. He then, with great fluency and self-command, delivered an address, concluding in these words:—"Permit me, sire, further to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence from, and regard for, your people, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution as it was established at the glorious and necessary Revolution." At this address the king reddened with anger, but made no reply, and the Lord Mayor and his train, after a brief space, with-

drew. The city afterwards marked their admiration of Mr Beckford's conduct, by rearing a statue to him in Guildhall, on the pedestal of which they caused his address to be inscribed.

331. Under the policy of the king, the Wilkes agitations soon subsided. In reality, the case of this demagogue, and even the constitutional question involved in his expulsion from the House of Commons, had been all along estimated far above their real value and importance.

THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

332. Meanwhile, the remonstrances of the American colonists had induced the North administration to give up all the new taxes, excepting only that on tea, which it was determined to keep up, as an assertion of the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. In America, this last remaining tax continued to excite as much discontent as the whole had formerly done, for it was the principle of a right to impose taxes which they found fault with, and not the amount of the tax itself. Their discontent with the mother country was found to affect trade considerably, and the British merchants were anxious to bring the dispute to a close. The government was then induced to grant such a drawback from the British duty on tea, as enabled the East India Company to offer the article in America at a lower rate than formerly, so that the American duty, which was only threepence a-pound, did not at least affect the price. It was never doubted that this expedient would satisfy the colonists, and large shipments of tea were accordingly sent out from the British ports. But the principle of the right to tax still lurked under the concession, and the result only showed 'how little the sentiments of the Americans were understood.

333. The approach of the tea cargoes excited them in a manner totally unlooked for in Britain. At New York and Philadelphia, the cargoes were forbidden to land. In Charlestown, where they were permitted to land, they were put into stores, and prohibited from being sold. At Boston,

a ship-load, which had been introduced into the harbour, was seized by a lawless mob, and tossed into the sea. This last act of violence was resented by the passing of a bill in Parliament for interdicting all commercial intercourse with the port of Boston, and another for taking away the legislative assembly of the state of Massachusetts. The former measure was easily obviated by local arrangements; and in reference to the latter, a congress of representatives from the various states met at Philadelphia, in September 1774, when it was asserted that the exclusive power of legislation, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, resided in the provincial legislatures. The same assembly denounced other grievances, which have not here been particularly adverted to, especially an act of the British legislature for trying Americans, for treasonable practices, in England. The congress also framed a covenant of non-intercourse, by which the whole utility of the colonies to the mother country, as objects of trading speculation, was at once laid prostrate. The colonists still avowed a desire to be reconciled, on the condition of a repeal of the obnoxious statutes. But the government had now resolved to attempt the reduction of the colonists by force of arms. Henceforth, every proposal from America was treated with a proud silence on the part of the British monarch and his advisers.

334. The war opened in summer 1775, by skirmishes between the British troops and armed provincials, for the possession of certain magazines. At the beginning, there seemed no hope of the contest being protracted beyond one campaign. The population of the colonies was at this time under three millions, and they were greatly inferior in discipline and appointments to the British troops. They possessed, however, an indomitable zeal in the cause they had agreed to defend, and fought with the advantage of being in the country of their friends. At Bunker's Hill, near Boston (June 17, 1775), they had the superiority in a well-contested fight with the British troops, of whom between two and three hundred were killed. At the end of one year, the British government was surprised to find that no progress had been made towards a reduction of the

Americans, and sent out an offer of pardon to the colonists, on condition that they would lay down their arms—a proposal which was only met with ridicule.

335. On the 4th of July 1776, the American Congress took the decisive step of a declaration of their independence, embodying their sentiments in a document remarkable for its pathos and solemnity. During the next two campaigns, the slender forces of the new republic were hardly able any where to face the large and well-appointed armies of Great Britain. Much misery was endured by this hardy people in resisting the British arms. Besides the civilised soldiers brought against them, they had to protect themselves from the savage Indians, whom the British ministers had deemed it proper to bribe and debauch into their service, and whose warfare was one of extermination. Notwithstanding every disadvantage and many defeats, America remained unsubdued, to the astonishment of all Europe, but especially of Great Britain, her king, her ministers, and her people, the last of whom had reflected less upon the justice of their cause against America, than upon the hopes which were held forth of the cheap and speedy conquest of the country.

336. The first serious alarm for the success of the contest in America, was communicated in December 1777, by intelligence of the surrender of an army under General Burgoyne at Saratoga. In the House of Commons, the ministers acknowledged this defeat with marks of deep dejection, but still professed to entertain sanguine hopes, from the vigour with which the large towns throughout Britain were now raising men at their own expense for the service of the government. Mr Fox, the leader of the Opposition, made a motion for the discontinuance of the war, which was lost by 165 to 259, a much narrower majority than any which the ministry had before reckoned in the Lower House.

337. In proportion to the dejection of the government, was the elation of the American Congress. Little more than two years before, the British sovereign and ministers had treated the petitions of the colonists with silent contempt; but such had been the current of events, that, in

1778, they found it necessary, in order to appease the popular discontent, to send out commissioners, almost for the purpose of begging a peace. As if to avenge themselves for the indignities of 1775, the Americans received these commissioners with the like haughtiness; and, being convinced that they could secure their independence, would listen to no proposals in which the acknowledgment of that independence, and the withdrawal of the British troops, did not occupy the first place. The ministers, unwilling to submit to such terms, resolved to prosecute the war, holding forth to the public, as the best defence of their conduct, the necessity of curbing the spirit of insubordination, both in America and at home, which they described as threatening the overturn of the most sacred of the national institutions.

338. The rise of Great Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in wealth, and military and naval power, had been observed by many of the surrounding states with no small degree of jealousy. France, in particular, had not yet forgiven the triumphant peace which Britain had dictated in 1763. The Americans, therefore, by their emissary, the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, found no great difficulty in forming an alliance with France, in which the latter power acknowledged the independence of the colonists, and promised to send them large auxiliary forces. Viewing the distressed state to which Britain was reduced by the contest, and concluding that the time had arrived to strike a decisive blow for her humiliation, Spain soon after declared war against her, and in 1780, Holland was added to the number of her enemies. Russia then put herself at the head of what was called an Armed Neutrality, embracing Sweden and Denmark, the object of which was indirectly hostile to Britain. So tremendous was the force reared against Britain in 1779, even before all these powers had entered into hostilities, that it required about three hundred thousand armed men, three hundred armed vessels, and twenty millions of money annually, merely to protect herself from her enemies. Even her wonted superiority at sea seemed to have deserted her; and for some time the people beheld the unwonted spectacle of a hostile fleet

riding in the Channel, which there was no adequate means of opposing.

339. It was now obvious to the whole nation, that this contest, upon whatever grounds it commenced, was a great national misfortune; and the Opposition in Parliament began to gain considerably in strength. After some votes, in which the ministerial majorities appeared to be gradually lessening, Mr Dunning, on the 6th of April 1780, carried, by a majority of eighteen, a motion, "that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." This was justly looked upon as a severe censure of the government, considering that the House of Commons was not altogether a popular body, but included many who had seats there only through the influence of the crown, or by the favour of the nobility and gentry.

THE LONDON RIOTS OF 1780.

340. In the year 1778, an act had been passed, relieving the Roman Catholics in England from some of the severe penal statutes formerly enacted against them. The apprehension of a similar act for Scotland caused the people of that country to form an immense number of associations, with a view to opposing it; and, in the early part of 1779, the popular spirit broke out at Edinburgh and Glasgow in several alarming riots, during which one or two Catholic chapels, and some houses belonging to Catholics, were pillaged and burnt. An extensive Protestant Association was also formed in England, to endeavour to procure the repeal of the English act. This body was chiefly led by Lord George Gordon, a son of the late Duke of Gordon, and member of the House of Commons. In June 1780, an immense mob assembled in London to accompany Lord George to the House of Commons, where he was to present a petition against the act, signed by 120,000 persons. His motion for the repeal of the act being rejected by a vast majority, he came out to the lobby and harangued the crowd in violent terms, suggesting to them similar acts to those which had taken place in Scotland. The mob accordingly proceeded to demolish the chapels of the foreign ambassadors.

Meeting with no effectual resistance, for the magistrates of the city were afraid to take decisive measures against them, they attacked Newgate, released the prisoners, and set the prison on fire. The new prison at Clerkenwell, the King's Bench and Fleet Prisons, and the New Bridewell, were treated in like manner. At one time, thirty-six fires were seen throughout the city. The mob had uncontrolled possession of the streets for five days, pillaging, burning, and demolishing; until the king in council determined to authorise the military to put them down by force of arms. Tranquillity was then restored, but not before upwards of 400 persons were killed and wounded. Many of the ring-leaders were convicted and executed. Lord George Gordon was tried for high treason, but acquitted on a plea of insanity, which his subsequent life showed to be well-founded. Similar outrages were attempted in other cities, but prevented by the vigour of the magistrates. The chief sufferers from these riots were the party who aimed at political reforms. On the other hand, the king obtained increased respect, in consequence of the firmness he had shown in taking measures for the suppression of the riots.

CONCLUSION OF THE AMERICAN WAR—ROCKINGHAM ADMINISTRATION.

341. The states of North and South Carolina, which contained a larger proportion of persons friendly to the British crown than any of the northern states, had submitted, in 1780, to a British army under General Clinton. Next year, the greater part of the troops which had been left in those states were conducted northward by Lord Cornwallis, in the hope of making farther conquests; but the consequence was that General Greene, after a series of conflicts in which he greatly distressed various parties of the British troops, regained both Carolinas, while Lord Cornwallis took up a position at Yorktown in Virginia. At this time, General Washington, the American commander-in-chief, to whose extraordinary sagacity and purity of motives the colonists chiefly owed their independence, was threatening General Clinton's army at New York.

Clinton tamely saw him retire to the southward, believing that he only meant to make a feint, in order to draw away the British from New York, when he in reality meant to attack Cornwallis. On the 29th of September (1781), Yorktown was invested by this and other corps of Americans and French; and in three weeks more, the British batteries being completely silenced, Lord Cornwallis surrendered, with his whole army. With this event, though some posts were still kept up by British troops, hostilities might be said to have been concluded.

342. The conclusion of the American war afforded a new proof, in addition to the result of Charles I.'s attempts upon Scotland in the preceding century, that a government, however powerful from other circumstances, cannot easily contend against a nation which has banded itself together under the influence of any high and animating sentiment. At the next opening of Parliament, General Burgoyne expressed himself as now convinced that the principle of the American war was wrong. He had been brought, he said, to this conviction, by observing the uniform conduct and behaviour of the people of America. Passion, prejudice, and interest, might operate suddenly and partially; but when he saw one principle pervading the whole continent, and the Americans resolutely encountering difficulty and death for a course of years, it must be a strong vanity and presumption in our own minds, which could lead us to imagine that they were not in the right. Many of those who had formerly supported the war, began to adopt similar views; and, early in 1782, a motion, made by General Conway, for the conclusion of the war, was carried by a majority of nineteen. The necessary consequence was, that, on the 20th of March, Lord North and his colleagues resigned office, after twelve years of continued misfortune, during which the prosperity of the country had been retarded, a hundred millions added to the national debt, and three millions of people separated from the parent state.

343. As usual in such cases, a new administration was formed out of the Opposition. The Marquis of Rockingham was made prime minister, and Mr Fox one of the secretaries of state. The new ministers lost no time in

taking measures for the restoration of peace. Unfortunately for their credit with the nation, Sir George Rodney gained an important victory over the French fleet off the island of Dominica, April 12, 1782, after the ministers had dispatched another officer to supersede him in the command. On this occasion thirty-seven British vessels encountered thirty-four French, and, chiefly by the dexterous manœuvre of a breach of the enemy's line, gained one of the most complete victories recorded in modern warfare. The triumph was eminently necessary, to recover in some measure the national honour, and enable the ministers to conclude the war upon tolerable terms. In November, provisional articles for a peace with the United States of America, now acknowledged as an independent power, were signed at Paris, and the treaty was concluded in the ensuing February. When the American ambassador was afterwards, for the first time, introduced at the British levee, the king received him kindly, and said, with a manly frankness, that though he had been the last man in his dominions to desire that the independence of America should be acknowledged, he should also be the last to wish that that acknowledgment should be withdrawn. War was soon after concluded with France, Spain, and Holland, but not without some considerable concessions of colonial territory on the part of Great Britain.

344. The conclusion of this war is memorable as a period of great suffering, arising from the exhaustion of the national resources, the depression of commerce, and the accident of a bad harvest. The principles of prosperity were after all found to be so firmly rooted in the country, that, immediately after the first distresses had passed away, every department of the state resumed its wonted vigour, and, during the ensuing ten years of peace, a great advance was made in national wealth.

345. On the unexpected death of the Marquis of Rockingham, in July 1782, the king chose as his successor the Earl of Shelburne, who, though nominally a Whig, was not sufficiently inclined to the general measures of that party to be agreeable to Mr Fox and other leading members of the Cabinet. On their consequent resignation, the

were filled up by the friends of Shelburne, among whom was Mr William Pitt, a younger son of the Earl of Chatham. This young statesman, to whom was assigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, had already distinguished himself by the part he took in the popular proceedings for a reform of the House of Commons; an object which the Opposition and their supporters had for some years advocated with great zeal, but which soon after fell in a great measure out of public notice.

COALITION MINISTRY.

346. The present ministry was opposed by two parties of very different principles, namely, the adherents of the North administration, and the friends of those Whigs who had lately retired from the cabinet. These two parties, notwithstanding that they had been opposed to each other throughout all the late war, coalesced for factious or ambitious purposes, and, being triumphant over the ministry, forced themselves upon the king's counsels. Then was formed (April 2, 1783), what was called the Coalition Ministry, in which Lord North and Mr Fox acted together as secretaries of state, though two years had hardly elapsed since the latter had breathed the most violent threats in Parliament against his present associate. A coalition, in which political principle was supposed to be abandoned for the sake of office, could not be agreeable to the nation, while it was evidently most embarrassing to the sovereign. Mr Fox had prepared and carried through the Lower House his famous bill for the regulation of the East India Company, by which all authority was to devolve on seven directors chosen by the House of Commons—in other words, by which the immense patronage of this offshoot of the empire was to fall into the hands of the Ministry. The India bill, as it was called, was generally supposed to aim at fixing the ministry in power beyond the control of both king and people, and it accordingly roused much indignation. His majesty, therefore, fully confident of support from the people, used his personal influence, in no covert way, to induce the House of Lords to reject the bill, and

(December 18) sent a messenger to demand the seals of office from his over-ambitious ministers, appointing Mr Pitt to be the prime minister and chancellor of the exchequer of a new cabinet, consisting chiefly of his majesty's friends.

347. The various departments of the state were now thrown into a relative position which had never been known before, and has never recurred. The king and his ministers, backed by a decided majority of the public, were opposed by two powerful aristocratic factions in the House of Commons, who defeated every measure that was introduced, refused the usual supplies, and voted again and again resolutions against the continuance of the present men in office, which they denounced as unconstitutional. In the course of a few weeks, however, the influence of the Opposition was sensibly reduced; the public sentiment and the power of the court began to take effect even on this intractable body; and when at length their majority had been worn down to *one*, which happened on a motion by Mr Fox, the king dissolved the Parliament; a measure which, whatever it might promise to him, he did not previously think justifiable. So far were the votes of the Coalition from being based on popular support, that, in the new election, no fewer than one hundred and sixty members lost their seats. The new House of Commons was so favourable towards the king and ministry, as to enable the public service to go on without further interruption.

LEGISLATIVE MEASURES IN IRELAND.

348. At the end of the reign of George II., as has been already mentioned, there arose a party in Ireland who took the name of the Patriots, and professed to seek the good of the country apart from the English interest. About the same time, or soon after, the Catholics began to recover from the terror and depression of the three past reigns. The severe statutes against Catholicism had not prevented it from extending its influence in Ireland; nor had the governing party been successful in their endeavours to repress the worldly prosperity and comfort of the professors of that faith. Like the Jews under similar circumstances,

the Catholics had sought to make up, by extraordinary industry, for the want of the countenance and employment of the state; and they could now boast of a mercantile class of considerable importance. Chiefly out of this class was formed, in 1759, the first associated body of Catholics which had been known in Ireland since the Revolution.

349. A loyal address presented by this body to the Lord-Lieutenant, in which their sufferings were delicately hinted at, experienced a reception, which, though it does not now appear to have been more than civil, communicated extreme joy to a party who, for seventy years, had known nothing but severity. In 1762, a number of labourers being thrown out of employment, began that system of nocturnal outrage for which Ireland has ever since been remarkable: they were called Whiteboys, from their wearing linen frocks over their clothes. Other servile insurrections followed, and, in 1768, under the pressure of the popular spirit, the Irish Parliament, which had previously lasted throughout the king's reign, was limited by enactment to eight years. The Catholics now began to appear in courts of justice, to contend against the operation of laws to which they had formerly submitted in silence. Gradually they made a party even among the Protestants, and several of the more grievous of the penal statutes were repealed. They were allowed to lend money, to take bogs upon long leases, to enjoy landed property without any risk of its being taken from them by a Protestant heir, and to possess horses of above the value of five pounds.

350. From the first, the resistance of the American colonists inspired the Irish with a hope of shaking off the English influence. In the progress of the war, Ireland was left almost destitute of troops, and some dread began to be entertained lest the French might make a descent upon some part of the coast. In 1779, the inhabitants of Belfast formed armed associations for defence: the example was speedily followed, and in little more than a year, a volunteer corps to the amount of 50,000 men had been embodied. Encouraged by Parliament, and headed by the principal men in the country, these armed citizens held meetings and passed resolutions, in which they openly avowed their

determination, at the hazard of life and fortune, to achieve the independence of the native legislature, and a complete participation in the commercial rights of the British. The government, being then too feeble to resist, bowed to their demands. Poyning's law, and others which had given the English Parliament a right to interfere with Ireland, were repealed; and acts were passed for the right of *habeas corpus* and the independence of the judges. In November 1783, the Volunteers held a grand convention in Dublin, and proposed to urge the question of Parliamentary reform; but the government now began to regain strength, and in a short time, by skilful measures, it prevailed upon the corps to dissolve.

MINISTRY OF MR PITT—FROM 1784 TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

351. Though the favourite minister of a sovereign decidedly opposed to all popular innovations, Mr Pitt continued to profess his former zeal for a reform in the House of Commons, but, as might be expected, was unable to bring the power of the government to bear upon the subject. In April 1785, he asked leave of the House to bring in a bill for this object, his scheme being as follows:—To transfer the right of representation from thirty-six of such boroughs as had fallen into decay, to the counties, and to such chief towns and cities as were still unrepresented; and to provide a fund for the purpose of giving, to the owners and holders of such boroughs disfranchised, a compensation for their property. He also provided, from this fund, to purchase the franchise of other boroughs, and to confer it upon such other large towns as should petition Parliament for the privilege. Thus a hundred members would be given to the popular interest, and the right of election extended to a hundred thousand additional persons. Leave to bring in the bill was refused by a large majority. The desire of parliamentary reform nevertheless continued to animate a large portion of the community. In 1784, a regular society had been instituted in Scotland, for the purpose of obtaining such a measure; and in the succeeding year, forty-nine out

of the sixty-six boroughs had declared in favour of it. There were also numerous associations of a similar character in England.

352. In 1786, Mr Pitt established his celebrated but fallacious scheme for redeeming the national debt, by what was called a Sinking Fund. The revenue was at this time above fifteen millions, being about one million more than was required for the public service. This excess he proposed to lay aside annually, to lie at compound interest; by which means he calculated that each million would be quadrupled at the end of twenty-eight years, and thus go a great way towards the object he had in view. To this scheme Mr Fox added the infinitely more absurd amendment, that, when the government required to borrow more money, one million of every six so obtained should be laid aside for the same purpose. The scheme was so well received as to increase the popularity of the minister, and it was not till 1813 that its fallacy was proved.

353. In the same year commenced the parliamentary proceedings against Mr Warren Hastings, for alleged cruelty and robbery exercised upon the natives of India during his governorship of that dependency of Great Britain. These proceedings were urged by Mr Burke and other members of the Whig party, and excited so much public indignation against Mr Hastings, that the ministry was obliged, though unwillingly, to lend their countenance to his trial, which took place before Parliament in the most solemn manner, and occupied one hundred and forty-nine days, extending over a space of several years. The result was the acquittal of Mr Hastings.

354. The king and queen had, in the mean time, become the parents of a numerous family of sons and daughters. The eldest son, George, Prince of Wales, had now for several years been of age, and exempted from the control of his father. He had no sooner been set up in an establishment of his own, than he plunged into a career of prodigality, forming the most striking contrast with the chastened simplicity and decorum of the paternal abode. He also attached himself to the party of the Opposition, though rather apparently from a principle of contradiction to his

father, than a sincere approbation of their political objects. The result was the complete alienation of the Prince of Wales from the affections of the king.

355. In November 1788, an aberration of intellect, resulting from an illness of some duration, was observed in the king, and it became necessary to provide some species of substitute for the exercise of the royal functions. To have invested the Prince of Wales with the regency appeared the most obvious course; but this would have thrown out the ministry, as it was to be supposed that his royal highness would call the chiefs of his own party to his counsels. Mr Fox contended that the hereditary nature of the monarchy pointed out an unconditional right in the prince to assume the supreme power under such circumstances; but Mr Pitt asserted the right of Parliament to give or withhold such an office, and proposed to assign certain limits to the authority of the intended regent, which would have placed the existing ministry beyond his reach. The Irish Parliament voted the unconditional regency to the prince; but that of Great Britain was about to adopt the modified plan proposed by Mr Pitt, when, March 1789, the king suddenly recovered, and put an end to the difficulty. The debates on the regency question show in a very strong light how statesmen will sometimes abandon their most favourite and strongest principles, on the call of their own immediate interests.

MISCELLANEOUS CIRCUMSTANCES FROM 1760 TO 1790.

356. At the beginning of the reign of George III., both the commerce and manufactures of the country might be considered as in a highly flourishing condition. Scotland was not now, as formerly, exempt from the general prosperity. In that country, since the year 1746, great improvements of various kinds had taken place: the linen manufacture had been much advanced; a trade with the colonies had sprung up; agriculture was undergoing great changes for the better; the Highlands were now peaceful, and throughout the whole country were seen conspicuous symptoms of increasing wealth, and its natural consequence, refinement of manners.

357. During the first ten years of the reign of George III., some discoveries and inventions were made, by which the prosperity of the whole empire received a new impulse. By the improvements effected in the steam-engine by Mr James Watt, a superior mechanic power was obtained for the driving of machinery and other purposes. Mr James Hargreaves of Blackburn invented the *spinning-jenny*, a contrivance for abridging the use of hand-labour in the cotton manufacture. Upon this an improvement was afterwards made by Mr Richard Arkwright, who invented what was called the *spinning-frame*, by which a vast number of threads of the utmost fineness were spun with very little aid from hand-labour. A third invention called the *mule-jenny*, by Mr Crompton of Bolton, came into use some years later; and, finally, the *power-loom* was invented, for superseding hand-labour in weaving. By these means, the cotton manufacture was brought to a pitch of prosperity in Britain, such as no particular branch of manufacture had ever experienced before in any country. The immense wealth produced by it is allowed to have been what chiefly enabled the nation to sustain the great contest in which it was afterwards involved with France. Considering these great results, the original condition of the principal persons concerned in improving the manufacture is remarkable. Mr Watt, who gave it a mechanic force in the steam-engine, was an artisan in his early days; Mr Hargreaves was a carpenter, and Mr Arkwright a dresser of hair. The latter, at his death, left nearly a million sterling, realised by the profits of his invention.

358. The early part of the reign of George III. was distinguished by the discoveries of Captain Cook in the Pacific Ocean, by the formation of many canals for internal navigation, and by the foundation of the Royal Academy for the Promotion of the Fine Arts. This period derives lustre from the admirable paintings of Barry, Blake, Hoppner, and Reynolds. Astronomy was cultivated by Dr William Herschel, who in 1783 discovered the planet Uranus. Chemistry was improved by Dr Joseph Black and Mr Cavendish. The science of medicine was advanced by Dr Cullen of Edinburgh; and natural history by Sir

Joseph Banks. In literature, the chief place is due to Dr Samuel Johnson, who had flourished also in the preceding reign. Oliver Goldsmith, Mark Akenside, and William Cowper, were the most eminent poets. History was written in a masterly manner by William Robertson and David Hume; Henry Home, David Hume, and Adam Smith, figure as philosophical writers; Sir William Blackstone wrote on English law; and amongst divines, the most eminent were Bishops Warburton, Jortin, and Hurd.

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

359. The country had for several years experienced the utmost prosperity and peace, when it was roused by a series of events which took place in France. The proceedings of the French nation for redressing the political grievances under which they had long laboured, commenced in 1789, and were at first very generally applauded in Britain, as likely to raise that nation to a rational degree of freedom. Ere long, the violence shown at the destruction of the Bastille, the abolition of hereditary privileges, the open disrespect for religion, and other symptoms of an extravagant spirit, manifested by the French, produced a considerable change in the sentiments of the British people. The proceedings of the French were still justified by the principal leaders of Opposition in Parliament, and by a large class of the community; but they inspired the government, and the propertied and privileged classes generally, with great alarm and distrust.

360. Under the impulse communicated from France, a number of associations were formed throughout the country, for the purpose of urging that reform in the House of Commons which had so long been called for by the Opposition; the society in London being headed by Mr (afterwards Earl) Grey, and Mr (afterwards Lord) Erskine. There also appeared a profusion of pamphlets in favour of reform. The public mind was greatly agitated by the various events and discussions which were constantly taking place; all the more ardent, and speculative, and benevolent minds, entering heartily into the views of the

French, while the more cautious, and the more wealthy, expressed their fears for the result. A considerable number of those accustomed to oppose government took this opportunity to join its ranks, the chief of whom was Mr Burke, who, in November 1790, published his celebrated pamphlet on the French Revolution, in which he employed unexampled eloquence, and a vast range of historical illustration, to show that it was founded on principles adverse to real liberty and to public security.

361. The improvement of the public institutions of France would have probably taken place without any material consequences, if not deranged by external events. That national weakness which had been the main cause of the Revolution, prompted two ambitious powers—Austria and Prussia—to form a scheme (summer 1791) for overrunning France, and restoring the king to full authority; it was also suspected that they contemplated appropriating to themselves some of the provinces of France. The intelligence of these designs produced the utmost indignation among the French, and was the first cause of the more violent proceedings at Paris. In reply to a question from France respecting the troops assembling on the frontier, Francis II. of Austria made no scruple to avow an intention, with his ally, to interfere in the settlement of the French government; the consequence was a proclamation, by France, of war against Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia. In the summer of 1792, the combined powers placed an army under the charge of the Duke of Brunswick—reinforced by large bodies of the fugitive noblesse of France—for the purpose of invading that country, which they had no doubt they should speedily find at their mercy. A manifesto, issued by the duke at Coblenz, called upon all the French authorities to submit to their king, under the pain of military execution, and threatened to give up the city of Paris to spoliation, if the least injury should be offered to the royal family, who were invited to come under the protection of the allied army. The result was an universal rising of the military spirit of the French against the invader, who, before the end of the year, was completely defeated, and driven from the country, by troops of raw but enthusiastic recruits; while the king, having, by an at-

tempted flight, and other circumstances, given reason for suspicion that he was disposed to regain his former power by means of foreign assistance, was deposed (August 10, 1792), and thrown with his family into ignominious confinement.

WAR DECLARED AGAINST FRANCE, 1793.

362. The deposition of the King of France, and the subsequent establishment of a republic, conveyed alarm wherever hereditary institutions were known. At a time when it was the interest of the French Convention to have taken every proper means of soothing this unfavourable feeling, they gave it additional excitement by passing a decree (November 1792), intended as a retaliation for the conduct of Austria and Prussia, proffering aid to any people who might be inclined to reform their institutions; and still farther (January 21, 1793), by bringing their deposed king to the block. Previously to the last incident, they had overrun the Netherlands, and opened the navigation of the Scheldt, which Great Britain was obliged by treaty to keep shut for the advantage of Holland. The decree, and the opening of this river for general commerce, afforded to the British government an excuse for entering into a war with France, while the real motives were, in a great measure, similar to those which animated Austria and Prussia—a desire of restoring monarchy in France, and preventing the contagion of French doctrines in Britain. The French Convention, who made peace one of their first principles, offered to explain away the decree, and to give up the question of the Scheldt; but the ministry paid no attention to the proposal. It was confidently expected by the king, his ministers, and the great body of respectable persons who rallied round the throne and the aristocracy on this occasion, that the French Republic had not strength to stand a single campaign against Britain and the other combined powers.

363. A comparatively small body of the people were zealously opposed to a war with France, and the views of this party continued to be advocated in Parliament by Messrs Fox and Sheridan, but without producing any im-

pression. At such a crisis, to speak of political reforms in England seemed the height of imprudence, as tending to encourage the French. All, therefore, who continued to make open demonstrations for that cause, were now branded as enemies to religion and civil order. In Scotland, Mr Thomas Muir, a barrister, and Mr Palmer, an Unitarian clergyman, were tried for sedition, and sentenced to various terms of banishment. Citizens named Skirving, Gerald, and Margarot, were treated in like manner by the Scottish criminal judges, though their offences, in themselves trivial, could only be said to derive the character ascribed to them from the temporary and accidental circumstances of the nation. An attempt to inflict similar punishments upon the English reformers, was defeated by the acquittal of a shoemaker named Hardy; but the party was nevertheless subjected, with the apparent concurrence of a large and influential portion of the people, to many minor severities.

UNEXPECTED SUCCESSES OF THE FRENCH.

364. After alliances had been formed with the other powers hostile to France, the British ministers dispatched an army to the Netherlands, under the command of the king's second son, the Duke of York, to co-operate in reducing the fortresses in possession of the French, while the town of Toulon, being inclined to remain under the authority of the royal family, put itself into the hands of a British naval commander. At first, the French seemed to fail somewhat in their defences; but on a more ardently republican party acceding to power under the direction of the famous Robespierre, the national energies were much increased, and the Duke of Brunswick experienced a series of disgraceful reverses. The Prussian government, having adopted new views of the condition of France, now began to withdraw their troops, on the pretext of being unable to pay them; and though Britain gave nearly a million and a quarter sterling to induce this power to remain nine months longer upon the field, its co-operation was of no farther service, and was soon altogether lost. On the 1st of June 1794, the French Brest fleet sustained a severe defeat from

Lord Howe, with the loss of six ships; but the republican troops not only drove the combined armies out of the Netherlands, but, taking advantage of an unusually hard frost, invaded Holland by the ice which covered the Rhine, and reduced that country to a republic under their own control. The successes of the British were limited to the above naval victory, the temporary possession of Corsica and Toulon, the capture of several of the French colonies in the West Indies, and the spoliation of a great quantity of the commercial shipping of France; against which were to be reckoned the expulsion of an army from the Netherlands, the loss of ten thousand men, and sixty thousand stand of arms, in an unsuccessful descent upon the west coast of France, some considerable losses of shipping, and an increase of annual expenditure from about fourteen to nearly forty millions.

365. In the course of the year 1795, the lower portions of the community began to appear violently discontented with the progress of the war, and to renew their demands for reform in the state. As the king was passing, October 29, to open the session of Parliament, a stone was thrown into his coach, and the interference of the horse guards was required to protect his person from an infuriated mob. The ministers consequently obtained acts for more effectually repressing sedition, and for the dispersion of political meetings. They were at the same time compelled to make a show of yielding to the popular clamours for peace, and commenced a negotiation with the French Directory, which was broken off by the refusal of France to restore Belgium to Austria. In the ensuing year, so far from any advance being made towards the subjugation of France, the northern states of Italy were overrun by its armies, and formed into what was called the Cisalpine Republic. The celebrated Napoleon Bonaparte made his first conspicuous appearance as the leader of this expedition, which terminated in Austria submitting to a humiliating peace. At the close of 1796, a French fleet sailed for Ireland, with the design of revolutionising that country, and detaching it from Britain; but its object was defeated by stress of weather. At this crisis, a new attempt was made to negotiate with the

French Republic; but as the events of the year had been decidedly favourable to France, a renewed demand of the British for the surrender of Belgium was looked upon as a proof that they were not sincere in their proposals, and their agent was insultingly ordered to leave the French territory. To add to the distresses of Britain, while Austria was withdrawn from the number of her allies, Spain, by a declaration of war in 1797, increased in no inconsiderable degree the immense force with which she had to contend.

INVASION THREATENED—DERANGEMENT OF PUBLIC CREDIT.

306. For some time an invasion of Britain had been threatened by France; and, sacred as the land had been for centuries from the touch of a foreign enemy, the successes of the republicans had hitherto so greatly exceeded all previous calculation, that the execution of their design did not appear improbable. Just as the interference of the neighbouring powers had, in 1792, roused the energies of the French, so did this proposed invasion stimulate the spirit of the British people. The clamours of reformers, and of those who were friendly to France, were now drowned in an almost universal zeal for the defence of the country; and not only were volunteer corps every where formed, but the desire of prosecuting the war became nearly the ruling sentiment of the nation. The ministers, perceiving the advantage which was to be derived from the tendency of the national spirit, appeared seriously to dread an invasion, and thus produced an unexpected and very distressing result. The credit of the Bank of England was shaken; a *run* was made upon it for gold in exchange for its notes, which it could not meet. On the 25th of February 1797, therefore, the bank was obliged, with the sanction of the Privy Council, to suspend cash payments, that is, to refuse giving coin on demand for the paper money which had been issued. This step led to a great depreciation in the value of Bank of England notes, and a very serious derangement of the currency ensued for a number of years.

MUTINIES OF THE SEAMEN—NAVAL VICTORIES OF ST VINCENT AND CAMPERDOWN.

367. In April, a new alarm arose from the proceedings of the seamen on board the Channel fleet, who mutinied for an advance of pay, and the redress of some alleged grievances. A convention of delegates from the various ships met in Lord Howe's cabin, and drew up petitions to the House of Commons and the Board of Admiralty. Upon these being yielded to, order was restored ; but the seamen on board the fleet at the Nore soon after broke out in a much more alarming revolt ; and, on the refusal of their demands, moored their vessels across the Thames, threatening to cut off all communication between London and the open sea. The reduction of this mutiny appeared at one time as if it could only be effected by much bloodshed ; but by the firmness of the government, and some skilful dealings with the seamen, a loyal party was formed, by whom the more turbulent men were secured, and the vessels restored to their officers. The ringleaders, the chief of whom was a young man named Richard Parker, were tried and executed.

368. The same year was remarkable for several victories gained by the British fleets. A Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships was attacked by fifteen vessels under Admiral Jervis (February 14), off Cape St Vincent, and completely beaten, with the loss of four large vessels. A fleet under Admiral Harvey, with a military force under Sir Ralph Abercromby, captured the island of Trinidad, a Spanish colony. In October, a Dutch fleet, under Admiral De Winter, was attacked off the village of Camperdown, upon their own coast, by Admiral Duncan, who, after a desperate battle, captured nine of the enemy's vessels. These naval successes compensated in some measure for the many land victories of the French, and served to sustain the spirit of the British nation under this unfortunate contest.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT—NEW COALITION AGAINST FRANCE.

369. In 1798, the French overran and added to their dominions the ancient republic of Switzerland, which gave them a frontier contiguous to Austria, and enabled them eventually to act with increased readiness and force upon that country. In this year, the directors of the French republic, beginning to be afraid of the ambition of their general, Bonaparte, sent him at the head of an expedition to reduce and colonise Egypt, intending from that country to act against the British empire in the East Indies. The expedition was successful in its first object; but the fleet which had conveyed it was attacked in Aboukir Bay, by Admiral Nelson (August 1), and almost totally destroyed or captured. While so much of the strength of the French army was thus secluded in a distant country, the eastern powers of Europe thought they might safely recommence war with the republic. Austria, Naples, and Russia, formed a confederacy for this purpose, and Britain, to supply the necessary funds, submitted to the grievance of an income tax, amounting in general to ten per cent., in addition to all her previous burdens.

370. This new confederacy was so successful in 1799, as to redeem the greater part of Italy. In the campaign which produced this result, the Russian army, under the famous Suwaroff, acted the most prominent part; but at the close, attempting to expel the French from Switzerland, this large force was nearly cut to pieces in one of the defiles of that mountainous country. In August of the same year, Great Britain made a corresponding attempt to expel the French from Holland. Thirty-five thousand men, under the Duke of York, formed the military part of the expedition. The fleet was successful at the first in taking the Dutch ships; but the army, having landed under stress of weather at an unfavourable place for their operations, was obliged, after an abortive series of skirmishes, to make an agreement with the French, purchasing permission to go back to their country by the surrender of 8000 prisoners from England.

BONAPARTE ELECTED FIRST CONSUL—HIS SUCCESSES.

371. The reverses which France experienced in 1799 were generally attributed to the weakness of the Directory—a council of five, to which the executive had been intrusted. Bonaparte suddenly returned from his army in Egypt, and, by a skilful management of his popularity, overturned the Directory, and caused himself to be appointed the sole depository of the executive power of the state, under the denomination of First Consul. He immediately wrote a letter to King George, making overtures of peace, but was answered, by the British secretary, that no dependence could be placed by Great Britain on any treaty with France, unless her government were again consolidated under the Bourbons. Bonaparte, having much reason to wish for peace, made a reply to this note, vindicating France from the charge brought against her, of having commenced a system of aggression inconsistent with the interests of other states, and asserting her right to choose her own government—a point, he said, that could not decently be contested by the minister of a crown which was held by no other tenure. But the British government was at this time too much elated by the expulsion of the French army from Italy, and the late changes in the executive, which, in their estimation, betokened weakness, to be immediately anxious for peace.

372. The events of 1800 were of a very different nature from what had been calculated upon in England. Sir Sidney Smith, who commanded the British forces in Syria, had made a treaty with the French army after it had been left by Bonaparte, whereby it was agreed that the French should abandon Egypt, and retire unmolested to their own country. The British government, in its present temper, refused to ratify this arrangement; the consequence was a continuance of hostilities. The French overthrew a large Turkish army at Grand Cairo, and made themselves more effectually than ever the masters of the country, so that Britain was obliged to send an army next year, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, to accomplish, at an immense expense

and a great waste of human life, what the French had formerly agreed to do. In Europe the presence of Bonaparte produced equally disastrous results. By one of his most dexterous movements, he eluded the Austrians, led an army over the Alps by the Great St Bernard into the Milanese, and, having gained a decisive victory at Marengo (June 14), at once restored the greater part of Italy to French domination. Contemporaneously with Napoleon's movements, Moreau led another army directly into Germany, overthrew the Austrians in several battles, and advanced to within seventeen leagues of Vienna. These reverses obliged Austria next year to make a peace, by which France became mistress of all Europe west of the Rhine and south of the Adige.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY, AND PEACE OF AMIENS, 1801.

373. At the commencement of 1801, Britain had not only to lament this unexpected turn of fortune, but to reckon among her enemies the whole of the northern states of Europe, which had found it necessary to place themselves on a friendly footing with Bonaparte, and, though they did not declare war against Britain, yet acted in such a manner as to render hostilities unavoidable. Nelson sailed in March, with a large fleet, for Copenhagen, and proved so successful against the Danish fleet, as to reduce that country to a state of neutrality. The death of the Russian Emperor Paul, which took place at the same time, and the accession of Alexander, who was friendly to Britain, completely broke up the northern confederacy. *Yet the great achievements of France on the Continent,* joined to the distresses of a famine which at this time bore hard on the British people, produced a desire for that peace which, a year before, might have been gained upon better terms. With a view, apparently, to save the honour of Mr Pitt and his friends, a new ministry was appointed under Mr Addington, by whom a peace was at length, in the end of the year (1801) concluded with France, which was left in the state of aggrandisement which has just been described.

374. The war of the French Revolution placed Great

Britain in possession of a considerable number of islands and colonies in the East and West Indies, and elsewhere ; and while two war-ships was the whole amount of her losses at sea, she had taken or destroyed 80 sail of the line, 181 frigates, and 224 smaller ships belonging to the enemy, together with 743 privateers, 15 Dutch, and 76 Spanish ships. The triumphs of the British fleets were indeed numerous and splendid, and had the effect of keeping the national commerce almost inviolate during the whole of the war, while that of France was nearly destroyed. There was, however, hardly the most trifling instance of success by land ; and the expenses of the contest had been enormous. Previously to 1793, the supplies usually voted by the House of Commons were £14,000,000 ; but those for 1801 were £42,197,000, being double the amount of the whole land-rent of the country.

IRELAND—RESULTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

375. Although the government had been able, in 1783, to procure a dissolution of the volunteer corps, the bulk of the Irish people continued to express the most anxious desire for such a reform in their Parliament as might render it a more just representation of the popular voice. In October 1784, a national congress, composed of delegates from most of the counties and large towns, met in Dublin, and petitioned for parliamentary reform. Nor was this a movement solely of the discontented Catholics, but it embraced a vast number of Protestants, who were displeased that their legislature should be merely an organ in the hands of a small dominant party, accustomed to be subservient to the English ministry. When Mr Pitt came into power, the part which he had taken in advocating parliamentary reform, inspired hopes in the Irish that they should speedily be successful in their object ; but they soon learned that, from the opposition of the king and his colleagues, the sentiments of Mr Pitt with regard to this measure were of no avail. An attempt which he made to console them for the want of reform, by extending their commercial privileges, was also frustrated, chiefly by the jealousy of the

British merchants. A strong feeling of discontent, not only with the government but with the British connexion, was thus engendered in Ireland.

376. At the commencement of the revolutionary proceedings in France, the wildest hopes of the Irish were again excited. Towards the close of the year 1791 they formed an association, under the title of the United Irishmen, comprehending persons of all religions, and designed to obtain "a complete reform of the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." The government from the first suspected this association of meditating an overturn of the state, and took strong measures for keeping it in check. A convention formed by it met in Dublin, December 3, 1792, and petitioned for reform. The Catholics took this opportunity to abjure certain tenets which were commonly attributed to them, such as, that excommunicated princes might be deposed or murdered by their subjects, that faith might be broken with heretics, that the Pope had any power within the British dominions, and that any human power could forgive sins without sincere repentance. They also disavowed all desire to reclaim lands forfeited by their ancestors, or to overthrow the existing Protestant church. The great force mustered in Ireland against the government, at a time when it was about to commence a war against similar principles in France, gave it much uneasiness, and some concessions to the popular spirit were thought indispensable. The legislature of Ireland, therefore, gave permission to Catholics to intermarry with Protestants, to practise at the bar, and to educate their own children. At the same time, acts were passed for putting down the meetings and petitions of the United Irishmen; and their secretary, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, was tried and sentenced to a fine and two years' imprisonment, for issuing a seditious manifesto.

377. It was soon after ascertained that the United Irishmen had carried on a treasonable correspondence with the agents of the French government, and if Rowan had not escaped from prison, he would, in all probability, have been punished capitally. Two other leaders in the association, James Napper Tandy and Theobald Wolfe Tone, at the

same time, fled from the country. It was now considered certain that a plan had been formed for detaching Ireland from Britain, and uniting it to the French Republic. The government, fully awake to the danger (1794), dispatched Earl Fitzwilliam, a liberal nobleman, to act as lord-lieutenant, with permission to take whatever measures he might deem necessary for restoring the loyalty and tranquillity of the country. He began by displacing from power all the officers who were opposed to the system of conciliation which he meant to pursue. Leave was also given in Parliament to bring in a bill for removing the Catholic disqualifications. But before any measure had been completed, the Honourable John Beresford, a leader of the party which had so long held the chief rule in Ireland, persuaded the government of the danger that would result from the plan of Earl Fitzwilliam, and he was suddenly superseded. The Parliament, which had almost unanimously sanctioned the Catholic Relief bill, while it was understood to be desired by the government, now threw it out. The Catholics obtained no advantages on this occasion, except permission to send their children to the Dublin University, and the establishment of a college at Maynooth for the education of their priests, against whom the French seminaries were now closed.

IRELAND—REBELLION OF 1798.

378. The patriotic party in Ireland seem to have now despaired of accomplishing the desired melioration of their institutions, so long as the British connexion should subsist. They therefore formed themselves into secret societies, with the intention of throwing the country under the protection of the French, who, it will be recollected, had proffered their friendship to any nation which might be discontented with its rulers. These societies were organised in the most ingenious manner, under military as well as civil regulations, and are said to have involved nearly half a million of men. A supreme directory of five persons, personally known only to those next in command, and who, nevertheless, exercised the most absolute rule over the whole body, entered into a

treaty with the directory of the French Republic, for the landing of a considerable auxiliary army, to be under the pay and command of the Irish. So determined were the members of this vast union to obtain their object, that its proceedings were conducted for about two years without being betrayed to the government. During this time, being resolved to wait patiently for the aid of France, and the complete preparation of their own strength, they submitted quietly to the severest proceedings of the government. In the course of the year 1796, the Habeas Corpus act was suspended; magistrates were empowered, at their own discretion, to send suspected persons to the navy; and a yeomanry corps, formed out of those Protestants who took the name of the Orange party, treated the Catholics with great severity. In the summer of 1797, military law was proclaimed, and life and liberty were every where at the mercy of a dissolute soldiery. Yet the unions every where remained quiet, though able, at the command of their leaders, to have risen in almost overwhelming force against the government. The connexion of Great Britain with Ireland is allowed to have been maintained on this occasion with the greatest difficulty.

379. In December 1796, a portion of the French fleet, destined for the service of the Irish Union, anchored in Bantry Bay. Not being joined by the remainder, and finding the country disposed to remain quiet, those in command judged it prudent to return almost immediately to Brest. In the ensuing year, the naval resources of France were much reduced by the victory of Duncan over the Dutch fleet at Camperdown. With the design of urging their preparations, Arthur O'Connor, a member of the Irish Directory, proceeded to France, but was arrested in passing through England. Losing all hope of French assistance, the conspirators resolved to act without it; but their designs were betrayed by one Reynolds; and three other members of the Directory, Emmett, Macnevin, and Bond, were seized. Notwithstanding the precautionary measures which the government was thus enabled to take, the Union persisted in the design of rising on a fixed day. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, another of its leaders, was then arrested, and, being wounded in a scuffle with his captors, soon after died

in prison. On the 21st of May 1798, Lord Castlereagh, secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, disclosed the whole plan of insurrection, which had been fixed to commence on the 23d.

380. Though thus thwarted in their designs, and deprived of their best leaders, the conspirators appeared in arms in various parts of the country. Parties attacked Naas and Carlow, but were repulsed with loss. A large party, under a priest named Murphy, appeared in the county of Wexford, and took the city of that name. Slight insurrections about the same time broke out in the northern counties of Antrim and Down, but were easily suppressed. In Wexford alone did the insurgents appear in formidable strength; and on the 20th of June, their whole force was collected upon Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, where an army of 13,000 men, with a proportionate train of artillery, was brought against them by General Lake. They were completely overthrown and dispersed. From this time the rebellion languished, and in July it had so far ceased to be formidable, that an act of amnesty was passed in favour of all who had been engaged in it, except the leaders.

381. On the 22d of August, when the rebellion had been completely extinguished, nine hundred French, under General Humbert, were landed at Killala, in the opposite extremity of the country from that in which the insurgents had shown the greatest strength. Though too late to be of any decisive effect, they gave some trouble to the government. A much larger body of British troops, under General Lake, met them at Castlebar, but retreated in a panic. They then advanced to the centre of the country, while the Lord-Lieutenant confessed the formidable reputation which their countrymen had acquired, by concentrating an immensely disproportioned force against them. On the 8th of September, they were met at Carrick-on-Shannon by this large army, to which they yielded themselves prisoners of war.

IRELAND—UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

382. In the course of the two ensuing years, the British ministers exerted themselves to bring about an incorporating

union of Ireland with Great Britain ; a measure to which the Irish people were almost universally opposed, but which, by the use of bribes and government patronage, liberally employed amongst the members of the Irish legislature, was at length effected. From the 1st of January 1801, the kingdom of Ireland formed an essential part of the empire, on which was now conferred the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The act of union secured to the Irish most of the commercial privileges which they had so long sought. Upon a comparison of the aggregate exports and imports of the two countries, Ireland was to raise two parts of revenue for every fifteen raised by Great Britain, during the first twenty years of the union, after which new regulations were to be made by Parliament. One hundred commoners were to be sent by Ireland to the British (now called the Imperial) Parliament, namely, two for each county, two for each of the cities of Dublin and Cork, one for the university, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable towns. Four lords spiritual, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal, elected for life by the Peers of Ireland, were to sit in the House of Lords.

383. The Union, though upon the whole effected in a spirit of fairness towards Ireland, increased the discontent of the people, which broke out in 1803 in a new insurrection. Under Robert Emmett and Thomas Russell, a conspiracy was formed for seizing the seat of the vice-government, and for this purpose a great multitude of peasantry from the county of Kildare assembled (July 23) in Dublin. Disappointed in their attempt upon the castle, they could only raise a tumult in the streets, in the course of which Lord Kilwarden, a judge, and his nephew, Mr Wolfe, were dragged from a carriage and killed. The mob was dispersed by soldiery, and Emmett and Russell, being seized, were tried and executed.

WAR RENEWED WITH FRANCE, 1803—SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

384. It was only one of the results of the war against French independence, that France was led by the course of

events to place herself under the control of her chief military genius, Napoleon Bonaparte; a man singularly qualified for concentrating and directing the energies of a country in the existing condition of France, but animated more by personal ambition than by any extended views of the good of his species. It was soon manifest that Bonaparte did not relish peace. By taking undue advantage of several points left loose in the treaty, he provoked Great Britain to retaliate by retaining possession of Malta; and the war was accordingly recommenced in May 1803. Britain immediately employed her superior naval force to seize the French West India colonies, while France took possession of Hanover, and excluded British commerce from Hamburgh. Bonaparte collected an immense flotilla at Boulogne, for the avowed purpose of invading England, but so vigorous were the preparations made by the whole British population, and so formidable the fleet under Lord Nelson, that he never found it possible to put his design in execution. In the year 1804, he was elevated to the condition of Emperor of the French, and France once more exhibited the formalities of a court, though not of the kind which the European sovereigns wished to see established. In April of the same year, the Addington administration was exchanged for one constructed by Mr Pitt, and of which he formed the chief.

385. In 1805, under the fostering influence of Great Britain, a new coalition of European powers, consisting of Russia, Sweden, Austria, and Naples, was formed against Napoleon. He, on the other hand, had drawn Spain upon his side, and was making great exertions for contesting with Britain the empire of the sea. A fleet of thirty-three sail, partly French and partly Spanish, met a British fleet of twenty-seven, under Nelson, off Cape Trafalgar, October 25, 1805, and was completely beaten, though at the expense of the life of the British commander. Britain thus fixed permanently her dominion over the seas and coasts of the civilised world. At this time, however, Napoleon was asserting with equal success his supremacy over continental Europe. By a sudden, rapid; and unexpected movement, he conducted an army into Germany, where the Austrians

were already making aggressions upon neutral territory. On the 17th October, he took the fortress of Ulm, with its artillery, magazines, and garrison of 30,000 men; a month after, he entered Vienna without resistance. He then pursued the royal family, and the allied armies of Russia and Austria, into Moravia; and, on the 2d of December, he gained the decisive victory of Austerlitz, which put an end to the coalition, and rendered himself the dictator of the Continent.

386. This series of events caused much gloom in the British counsels, and, with several other painful circumstances, among which was the impeachment of his colleague Lord Melville, for malpractices in the Admiralty, proved a death-blow to Mr Pitt, who expired on the 23d of January 1806, completely worn out with state business, at the early age of forty-seven, half of which time he had spent in the public service. Mr Pitt is universally allowed the praise of high talent and patriotism. But his policy has been a subject of dispute between the two great parties into which British society is divided. By the Tories it is firmly believed, that his entering into the war against the French republic was the means of saving the country from anarchy and ruin; by the Whigs, or Liberals, that this step only tended to postpone the settlement of the affairs of France, and loaded Britain with an enormous debt. Of the absence of all selfish views in Mr Pitt there can be no doubt; for, so far from accumulating a fortune out of the public funds, he left some debts, which Parliament gratefully paid.

387. Mr Pitt's ministry was succeeded by one composed of Lord Grenville, Mr Fox, and their friends: it was comprehensively called Whig, although Lord Grenville was in every respect a Tory, except in his advocacy of the claims of the Catholics for emancipation. In the course of 1806, the new cabinet made a strenuous but not undignified attempt to obtain a peace from France, which now threatened to bring the whole world to its feet. But the Grenville administration encountered serious difficulties from the king, who never could be induced to look with the least favour on the Catholic claims, or those who advocated them. Exhausted by his useless labours, Mr Fox died

September 13, 1806. Few names are more endeared to the British people than his ; for, though the leader of the Whigs, he never excited any rancour in his opponents. He was remarkable for his frankness and simplicity ; and, if his private life was not free from errors, they rather served to prevent his high endowments from removing him above the sphere of human sympathy, than to render him odious. His abilities as a Parliamentary orator and statesman were of the first order, and he was invariably the consistent and sincere friend of popular rights. It was not the least lamentable consequence of the war, that it caused the premature decease of two such men as Mr Pitt and Mr Fox.

388. A new coalition, excluding Austria, but involving Prussia, had been subsidised by Britain, and was now preparing to act. With his usual decision, Napoleon led what he called his "Grand Army" by forced marches into Prussia ; gained, on the 14th of October, the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, which at once deprived that country of her army, her capital, and her fortresses ; and then proclaimed the famous "Berlin Decrees," by which he declared Great Britain in a state of blockade, and shut the ports of Europe against her merchandise. The King of Prussia, Frederick William III., took refuge with his court in Russia, which now was the only continental power of any importance that remained unsubdued by France.

389. Towards that country Napoleon soon bent his steps, taking, as he went, assistance from Poland, which he promised to restore to independence. After a series of skirmishes and battles of lesser importance, he met the Russian army in great strength (June 14, 1807), at Friedland, and gave it a total overthrow. He might now have easily reduced the whole country, as he had done Austria and Prussia ; but he contented himself with forming a treaty (called the treaty of Tilsit, from the place where it was entered into), by which Russia agreed to become an ally of France, and entered into his views for the embarrassment of Britain by the exclusion of her commerce from the continental ports. France had thus, in the course of a few years, disarmed the whole of Europe, excepting Great

Britain; an amount of military triumph for which there was no precedent in ancient or modern history.

390. The Grenville administration was displaced in spring 1807, in consequence of the difference between its members and the king on the subject of the Catholic claims, which had long been urged by the Whig party, with little support from the people. The next ministry was headed by the Duke of Portland, and included Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh (afterwards Earl of Liverpool and Marquis of Londonderry), and Mr Canning, as secretaries; Mr Spencer Perceval, recently a solicitor, being chancellor of the exchequer. After being accustomed to the services of such men as Pitt and Fox, the people regarded this cabinet as one possessing comparatively little ability. One of its first acts was the dispatch of a naval armament to Copenhagen, to seize and bring away the Danish shipping, which was expected to be immediately employed in subserviency to the designs of France, and for the injury of Britain. The end of the expedition was easily gained, but it was the means of lowering the honour of Britain in the eyes of foreign states.

FIRST PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN—SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

391. The retaliation of France, for the interferences of other powers with its revolution, even supposing such retaliation justifiable, was now more than completed. Further measures could only appear as dictated by a desire of aggrandisement. But France was now given up to the direction of a military genius, who had other ends to serve than the defence of the country against foreign aggression or interference. The amazing successes of Napoleon had inspired him with the idea of universal empire; and so great was the influence he had acquired over the French, and so high their military spirit, that the attainment of his object seemed by no means impossible. There was a difference, however, between the opposition which he met with before this period, and that which he subsequently encountered. In the earlier periods of the war, the military operations of the European powers were chiefly dictated by

views concerning the interests of governments, and in which the people at large felt little sympathy. Henceforth a more patriotic spirit rose every where against Napoleon : he was looked upon in England and elsewhere as the common enemy of humanity and of freedom ; and every exertion made for the humiliation of France was animated by a sentiment of desperation, in which the governors and governed alike participated.

392. The Spanish peninsula was the first part of the prostrated continent where the people could be said to have taken a decidedly hostile part against Napoleon. He had there gone so far as to dethrone the reigning family, and give the crown to his elder brother Joseph. A sense of wrong and insult, mingled with religious fanaticism, raised the Spanish people in revolt against the French troops ; and though their conduct was every where barbarous in the extreme, it was hailed in Britain as capable of being turned to account. In terms of a treaty entered into with a provisional government in Spain, a small army was landed, August 8, 1808, in Portugal, which had been recently taken possession of by the French. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who afterwards became so famous as Duke of Wellington, was the leader of this force. In an engagement at Vimeira, on the 21st, he repulsed the French, under Junot, who soon after agreed, by what was called the Convention of Cintra, to evacuate the country. Sir Arthur being recalled, the British army was led into Spain under the command of Sir John Moore ; but this officer found the reinforcements poured in by Napoleon too great to be withstood, and accordingly, in the end of December, he commenced a disastrous though well-conducted retreat towards the port of Corunna, whither he was closely pursued by Marshal Soult. The British army suffered, on this occasion, the severest hardships and losses, but did not experience a check in battle, or lose a single standard. In a battle which took place at Corunna, January 16, 1809, for the purpose of protecting the embarkation of the troops, Sir John Moore was killed.

393. Much of the public attention was about this time engrossed by circumstances in the private life of the eldest son of the king. The Prince of Wales had been tempted,

in 1795, by the prospect of having his large debts paid by the nation, to marry the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, for whom he entertained no affection. Almost ever since the marriage, he had shown the most marked disrespect for his consort, who, consequently, lived separate from him, and did not herself display the prudent conduct of a British matron.

394. In 1809, Austria was induced once more to commence war with France. Upwards of half a million of men were brought into the field, under the command of the Archduke Charles. Bonaparte, leaving Spain comparatively open to attack, moved rapidly forward into Germany, and, by the victory of Ecmuhl, opened up the way to Vienna, which surrendered to him. After gaining a slight advantage at Essling, the archduke came to a second decisive encounter at Wagram, where the strength of Austria was completely broken to pieces. The peace which succeeded was sealed by the marriage of Napoleon to Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, for which purpose he divorced his former wife Josephine.

395. In the autumn of 1809, the British government dispatched an armament of 100,000 men, for the purpose of securing a station which should command the navigation of the Scheldt. The expedition was placed under the command of the Earl of Chatham, elder brother of Mr Pitt, a nobleman totally unacquainted with military affairs on such a scale. Under such management, the enterprise could not, in circumstances otherwise favourable, have succeeded. Too much time was put off in the preliminary siege of Flushing; Antwerp was effectually prepared to resist every effort; and the unhealthy season came on before any thing considerable had been done. The army, having disembarked on the insalubrious island of Walcheren, was swept off in thousands by disease. The survivors returned in December, without having done any thing towards the object for which they set out. This tragical affair became the subject of inquiry in the House of Commons, which, by a majority of 272 against 232, vindicated the manner in which the expedition had been managed.

396. A new expedition in Spain was attended with better

success. Taking advantage of the absence of Napoleon in Austria, a considerable army was landed, April 23, 1809, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who immediately drove Soult out of Portugal, and then made a rapid move upon Madrid. King Joseph advanced with a considerable force under the command of Marshal Victor; and, on the 28th of July, attacked the British and Spanish troops in a strong position at Talavera. The contest was obstinate and sanguinary; and though the French did not retreat, the advantage lay with the British. As this was almost the first success which Britain experienced by land in the course of the war, Sir Arthur Wellesley became the theme of universal praise, and he was elevated to a peerage, under the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera. He was obliged immediately to fall back upon Portugal, where he occupied a strong position near Santarem.

397. Early in 1810, Napoleon reinforced the army in Spain, and gave orders to Massena to "drive the British out of the peninsula." Wellington posted his troops on the heights of Busaco—eighty thousand in number, including Portuguese—and there, on the 27th of September, was attacked by an equal number of French. Both British and Portuguese behaved well: the French were repulsed with great loss, and, for the first time in the war, conceived a respectful notion of the British troops. Wellington now retired to the lines of Torres Vedras, causing the whole country to be desolated as he went, for the purpose of embarrassing the French. When Massena observed the strength of the British position, he hesitated; and finally, in the spring of 1811, performed a disastrous and harassed retreat into Spain.

398. It now became an object of importance with Wellington to obtain possession of the Spanish fortresses which had been seized by the French. On the 22d of April, he reconnoitered Badajos, and soon after laid siege to Almeida. Massena, advancing to raise the siege, was met on fair terms at Fuentes d'Onoro, May 5, and repulsed. Almeida consequently fell into the hands of the British. General Beresford, at the head of another body of British forces, gained the bloody battle of Albuera over Soult, and thereby pro-

tected the siege of Badajos, which, however, was soon after abandoned. During the same season, General Graham, in command of a third body of troops, gained the battle of Barossa. At the end of a campaign, in which the French were upon the whole unsuccessful, Wellington retired once more into Portugal.

399. The exclusion of strangers from the House of Commons during the inquiries into the Walcheren expedition, had been made a subject of discussion in a debating club, the president of which was therefore committed to Newgate for a breach of privilege. Sir Francis Buidett, member for Westminster, made this proceeding the subject of some acrimonious remarks in a letter to his constituents, denying the right of the House of Commons to imprison without trial, and describing that body as "a part of our fellow-subjects, collected together by means which it is not necessary for me to describe." The letter was voted a libel on the house, and a warrant was issued by the speaker for committing Sir Francis to the Tower. Sir Francis, denying the legality of the warrant, resisted its execution by remaining in his own house, where he was protected from the officers by immense crowds of people. After suffering a kind of siege for two days, he was forcibly taken by a large train of soldiers, and lodged in the Tower. By these proceedings, the capital was convulsed for several days; and in the course of the tumults which took place, a number of lives were lost.

PRINCE OF WALES APPOINTED REGENT.

400. The intellect of the king, which had experienced several temporary aberrations, gave way at the close of the year 1810, and rendered the appointment of a regent unavoidable. Accordingly, in December, the Parliament imposed that duty upon the Prince of Wales, though under certain restrictions as to the appointment of officers and other branches of the royal prerogative. The Tory party had not now the same reason to dread the accession of the prince which they had in 1789. His sentiments on the Catholic claims, originally favourable, had in 1804 experi-

enced a decided change, which proved the means of alienating him from the Whigs, with whom Catholic emancipation was a leading principle. Though he did not at first show any disinclination to take his old friends into the ministry, he contrived, when the first year of restriction had elapsed, to let them remain in their wonted state of opposition, without seeming to have desired it.

401. The year 1811 was regarded as the period of greatest depression and distress which the British empire had known for several ages. At this time, with the exception of an uncertain footing gained in Spain, the influence of England was unknown on the Continent. Bonaparte seemed as firmly seated on the throne of France as any of her former monarchs, while every other civilised European kingdom either owned a monarch of his express appointment, or was in some other way subservient to him. By the Berlin and Milan decrees, he had shut the ports of the Continent against British goods, so that they could only be smuggled into the usual markets. By British orders in council, which, though intended to be retaliatory, only increased the evil, no vessel belonging to a neutral power—such, for instance, as the United States—was permitted to carry goods to those ports, unless they should previously land and pay a duty in Britain. Thus the nation at once suffered from the shortsighted despotism of the French emperor, and from its own narrow and imperfect views of commerce; for, by embarrassing America, it only deprived itself of one of its best and almost sole-remaining customers.

RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

402. The power of Bonaparte, though sudden in its rise, might have been permanent, if managed with discretion. It was used, however, in such a way as to produce a powerful reaction throughout Europe in favour of those ancient institutions, which, twenty years before, had been threatened with ruin. The exclusion of British goods, a measure which he had dictated in resentment against England, proved the source of great distress, oppression, and hardship throughout the Continent, and was greatly instru-

mental in exciting a spirit of hostility against him. The very circumstance of a foreign power domineering over their native princes, raised a feeling in favour of those personages, which, being identified with the cause of national independence, acted as a very powerful stimulant. On the other hand, a sense of the grasping ambition of Napoleon—of his hostility to real freedom—of his unscrupulousness in throwing away the lives of his subjects for his own personal aggrandisement—had for some time been gaining ground in France itself.

403. In 1812, when the transactions in Spain had already somewhat impaired Napoleon's reputation, Alexander, Emperor of Russia, ventured upon a defiance of his decrees against British merchandise, and provoked him to a renewal of the war. With upwards of half a million of troops, appointed in the best manner, he set out for that remote country, determined to reduce it into perfect subjection. An unexpected accident defeated all his plans. The city of Moscow, after being possessed by the French troops in September, was destroyed by incendiaries, so that no shelter remained for them during the ensuing winter. Napoleon was obliged to retreat; but, overtaken by the direst inclemency of the season, his men perished by thousands in the snow. Of his splendid army, a mere skeleton regained central Europe. Returning almost alone to Paris, he contrived with great exertions to reinforce his army, though there was no replacing the veterans lost in Russia.

404. Early in 1813, he opened a campaign in northern Germany, where the Emperor of Russia, now joined by the King of Prussia and various minor powers, appeared in the open field against him. After various successes on both sides, an armistice was agreed to on the 1st of June, and Bonaparte was offered peace on condition of restoring only that part of his dominions which he had acquired since 1805. Inspired with an overweening confidence in his resources and military genius, he refused these terms, and lost all. In August, when the armistice was at an end, his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, joined the allies, whose forces now numbered 500,000 men, while an army of 300,000 was the largest which Napoleon could

at present bring into the field. Henceforth he might be considered as overpowered by numbers. By steady though cautious movements, the allies advanced to France, driving him reluctantly before them, and increasing their own force as the various states became emancipated by their presence. At the close of 1813, they rested upon the frontiers of France, while Lord Wellington, after two successful campaigns in Spain, had advanced in like manner to the Pyrenees.

HOME AFFAIRS—WAR WITH AMERICA.

405. Some changes had in the mean time taken place in the British administration. On the 11th of May 1812, the premier, Mr Perceval, was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons, by a man named Bellingham, whom some private losses had rendered insane. Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh then became the ministerial leaders in the two Houses of Parliament, but were quickly voted down by a majority of four, upon a motion made by Mr Stuart Wortley, afterwards Lord Wharncliffe. The ministry was finally rendered satisfactory to Parliament by the admission of Earl Harrowby as president of the council, Mr Vansittart as chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Sidmouth (formerly premier while Mr Addington) as secretary for the home department; Lord Liverpool continuing as premier, and Lord Castlereagh as foreign and war secretary.

406. Notwithstanding the successes which were at this period brightening the prospects of Britain, the regent and his ministers did not enjoy much popularity. The regent himself did not possess those domestic virtues which are esteemed by the British people, and he had excited much disapprobation by the steps which he took for fixing a criminal charge upon his consort. The general discontents were increased by the effects of the orders in council, for prohibiting the commerce of neutral states. Vast multitudes of working people were thrown idle by the stagnation of manufactures, and manifested their feelings in commotion and riot. The middle classes expressed their dissatisfaction, by clamours for Parliamentary reform.

407. At this unhappy crisis, provoked by the orders in council, as well as by a right assumed by British war-vessels to search for and impress English sailors on board the commercial shipping of the United States, that country (June 1812) declared war against Britain. Before the news had reached London, the orders had been revoked by the influence of Lord Liverpool; but the Americans, nevertheless, were too much incensed to retrace their steps. During the summer and autumn, several rencounters took place between single American and British ships, in which the former were successful. It was not till June 1, 1813, when the Shannon and Chesapeake met on equal terms, that the British experienced any naval triumph in this war with a kindred people. On land, the Americans endeavoured to annoy the British by assaults upon Canada, but met with no decisive success. The British landed several expeditions on the coast of the States, and were successful at Washington, at Alexandria, and one or two other points, but experienced a bloody and disastrous repulse at New Orleans. The war ended, December 1814, without settling any of the principles for which the Americans had taken up arms. But, while thus simply useless to America, it was seriously calamitous to Britain. The commerce with the States, which amounted in 1807 to twelve millions, was interrupted and nearly ruined by the orders in council, and the hostilities which they occasioned: henceforth America endeavoured to render herself commercially independent of Britain, by the encouragement of native manufactures—a policy not immediately advantageous, perhaps, to herself, but decidedly injurious to Great Britain. The fatal effects of the Berlin and Milan decrees to Napoleon, and of the orders in council to the interests of Britain, show how extremely dangerous it is for any government to interfere violently with the large commercial systems upon which the immediate interests of their subjects depend.

PEACE OF 1814—SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

408. At the close of 1813, it was evident that Bonaparte could hardly defend himself against the vast armaments

collected on all hands against him. Early in 1814, having impressed almost every youth capable of bearing arms, he opposed the allies on the frontiers with a force much less numerous and worse disciplined. Even now he was offered peace, on condition that he should only retain France as it existed before the Revolution. But this proposition was too humiliating to his spirit to be accepted; and he entertained a hope that, at the worst, his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, would not permit him to be dethroned. Two months were spent in almost incessant conflict with the advancing allies, who, on the 30th of March, entered Paris in triumph; and, in the course of a few days, ratified a treaty with Napoleon, by which he agreed to resign the government of France, and live for the future as only sovereign of Elba, a small island in the Mediterranean.

409. In the measures for settling France, Great Britain concurred by her representative Lord Castlereagh, who attended the allies during the campaign of 1814; and peace was proclaimed in London on the 20th of June. France was deprived of all the acquisitions gained both under the republic and the empire, and restored to the rule of the ancient royal family in the person of Louis XVIII. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited England in June, and were received with all the honours due to men who were considered as the liberators of Europe. Wellington, now created a duke, received a grant of £400,000 from the House of Commons, in addition to that of £100,000 previously voted; and had the honour to receive in person the thanks of the house for his services. Representatives from the European powers concerned in the war met at Vienna, October 2, in order to settle the disturbed limits of the various countries, and provide against the renewal of a period of war so disastrous. Throughout the whole arrangements, Great Britain acted with a disinterested magnanimity, which, after her great sufferings and expenses, could hardly have been looked for, but was highly worthy of the eminent name which she bore amidst European nations.

410. In March 1815, the proceedings of the congress were interrupted by intelligence that Napoleon had landed

in France, and was advancing in triumph to the capital. He had been encouraged by various favourable circumstances to attempt the recovery of his throne; and so unpopular had the new government already become, that, though he landed with only a few men, he was every where received with affection, and on the 20th of March, was reinstated in his capital, which had that morning been left by Louis XVIII. The latter sovereign had granted a charter to his people, by which he and his successors were bound to rule under certain restrictions, and with a legislature composed of two chambers, somewhat resembling the British Houses of Parliament. Bonaparte now came under similar engagements, and even submitted to take the votes of the nation for his restoration, on which occasion he had a million and a half of affirmative, against less than half a million of negative voices, the voting being performed by ballot. His exertions to reorganise an army were successful to a degree which showed his extraordinary influence over the French nation. On the 1st of June, he had 559,000 effective men under arms, of whom 217,000 were ready to take the field.

411. A Prussian army of more than 100,000 men, under Blücher, and one of about 80,000 British, Germans, and Belgians, under Wellington, were quickly rendezvoused in the Netherlands, while still larger armies of Austrians and Russians, making the whole force above a million, were rapidly approaching. These professed to make war, not on France, but against Bonaparte alone, whom they denounced as having, by his breach of the treaty, "placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations, and incurred the penalty of summary execution." Napoleon, knowing that his enemies would accumulate faster in proportion than his own troops, crossed the frontier on the 14th of June, with 120,000 men, resolved to fight Blücher and Wellington separately, if possible. The rapidity of his movements prevented that concert between the Prussian and English generals which it was their interest to establish. On the 16th, he beat Blücher at Ligny, and compelled him to retire. He had, at the same time, intrusted to Marshal Ney the duty of cutting off all connexion between the two

hostile armies. His policy, though not fully acted up to by his marshals, was so far successful, that Blucher retired upon a point nearly a day's march from Wellington.

412. After some further fighting next day, Napoleon brought his whole forces to bear, on the 18th, against Wellington alone, who had drawn up his troops across the road to Brussels, near a place called Waterloo. The battle consisted of a constant succession of attacks by the French upon the British lines. These assaults were attended with great bloodshed, but nevertheless resisted with the utmost fortitude, till the evening, when Blucher came up on the left flank of the British, and turned the scale against the French, who had now to operate laterally, as well as in front. The failure of a final charge by Napoleon's reserve to produce any impression on the two armies, decided the day against him: his baffled and broken host retired before a furious charge of the Prussian cavalry, who cut them down unmercifully. On his return to Paris, Napoleon made an effort to restore the confidence of his chief counsellors, but in vain. After a fruitless abdication in favour of his son, he retired on board a small vessel at Rochfort, with the intention of proceeding to America; but being captured by a British ship of war, he was condemned by his triumphant enemies to perpetual confinement on the island of St Helena, in the Atlantic, where he died in 1821.

413. Louis XVIII. was now restored, and the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna were completed. The expenses of Great Britain during this last year of hostilities exceeded seventy millions, and the national debt, which in 1793 had been £230,000,000, now amounted to £860,000,000.

414. During the latter years of Napoleon, a reaction had taken place throughout Europe against the innovatory doctrines, which, by producing the French Revolution, had been the cause, innocent or guilty, of so much ruinous warfare. Encouraged by this sentiment, the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had no sooner settled the new government of France, than they entered, September 26, 1815, into a personal league or bond for assisting each other on all occasions when any commotion should take

place among their respective subjects. This treaty was composed in somewhat obscure terms, and from its professing religion to be the sole proper guide "in the counsels of princes, in consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections," it obtained the name of the Holy Alliance. It was published at the end of the year, and communicated to the Prince Regent of England, who approved of, but did not accede to it.

415. The reaction had also its effect in Great Britain, in fixing the power of the aristocracy, which, by composing the whole of the Upper House, and influencing the election of a major part of the Lower, might be said to constitute the government. The security of this predominating power was indicated by several acts in which their peculiar interests were consulted. In the preceding year, an act had been passed for prohibiting the importation of grain from the continent, when the price in this country should be less than eighty shillings per quarter. An attempt to continue the income and property taxes, which pressed with the greatest severity on the wealthy and landed classes, was also negatived.

THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—POPULAR TUMULTS.

416. In May 1816, the Princess Charlotte, only child of the Prince Regent, was married to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, a young officer who had gained her affections when attending the allied sovereigns at the British court. In November 1817, to the inexpressible grief of the whole nation, the young princess died, immediately after having given birth to a dead son.

417. In August 1816, a British armament under Lord Exmouth bombarded Algiers, and reduced that piratical state to certain desirable conditions respecting the treatment of Christian prisoners.

418. The year 1816, and the four following years, will always be memorable as an epoch of extraordinary distress, affecting almost every class of the community. The liberation of European commerce at the end of the war, produced a proportionate diminution of that trade which England had

previously enjoyed, through her exclusive possession of the seas. While all public burdens continued at their former nominal amount, the prices of every kind of produce, and of every kind of goods, had fallen far below the unnatural level to which a state of war and of paper money had raised them; and hence the expenses of the late contest, which had never been felt in the fictitious prosperity then prevalent, came to press with great severity upon the national resources, at a time when there was much less ability to bear the burden. To complete the misery of the country, the crop of 1816 fell far short of the usual quantity, and the price of bread was increased to an amount more than double what has since been the average rate.

419. Tumultuary proceedings took place in various parts of the country; and a desire for a reform in the House of Commons, which was supposed to be the only means of reducing the public expenditure, began to take deep root among the lower orders, and produced tumultuary excesses in the metropolis. The government then adopted expedients for counteracting the force of the popular spirit. They endeavoured to make it appear that an extensive conspiracy had been formed for the overthrow of the government. Of the four rioters charged with high treason, a conviction was obtained only against one. Such unanimity, however, prevailed between the ministry and the Parliament, that, at the close of February (1817), an act was passed for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. Many persons were imprisoned, and detained for some time at the will of the ministers.

420. A temporary revival of prosperity occurred in 1818, but was quickly followed by renewed distress. In the autumn of 1819, the misery of the working classes had reached its greatest height, and still parliamentary reform was demanded as the only measure which could permanently improve their prospects. On the 12th of July, at a public meeting in the unrepresented town of Birmingham, an attorney was elected to proceed to Westminster, and openly claim to be received as a member of Parliament. On the 16th of August, a vast body of operatives assembled at Manchester, in an open space of ground called St Peter's

Field, for a similar purpose, though professedly to petition for parliamentary reform. As they came in regular array, bearing banners with inscriptions, the magistrates professed to consider the meeting as dangerous to the public peace, and accordingly, before the proceedings were far advanced, a body of troops, consisting chiefly of yeomanry, dashed into the mass, trampling down many persons of both sexes under the horses' feet, and killing and wounding others with their sabres. The meeting was dispersed by these means, and Messrs Hunt and Johnston, the principal orators, were apprehended. The tragic nature of this event, and its appearing as an invasion of the popular right of meeting for redress of grievances, produced some marks of public resentment; but the magistrates who conducted the attack, received the immediate and cordial thanks of the government.

421. When Parliament reassembled in November, there was an evident increase of attachment to the ministry, and, in addition to the strong measures already taken for suppressing popular discontent, acts were passed to suppress unstamped political publications, to prevent secret training to arms, and restrict to magistrates the right of calling public meetings.

422. On the 20th of January 1820, George III. died at Windsor, in his eighty-second year, without having experienced any lucid interval since 1810. The Prince-Regent was immediately proclaimed as **GEORGE THE FOURTH**; but there was no other change to mark the commencement of a new reign.

MISCELLANEOUS CIRCUMSTANCES FROM 1790 to 1820.

423. Owing to the superiority of Britain at sea, she was able to preserve her commerce during the war, while that of France was nearly ruined. This circumstance, combined with the remarkable effects of machinery in various manufactures, and the great improvements effected in agriculture, maintained the prosperity of the country during a contest which otherwise must have sunk her as low as it did Austria and Prussia.

424. This period is especially memorable for the introduction of the use of steam in navigation. A model vessel, with a small steam-engine on board, was tried in 1788 by Mr Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, in Dumfriesshire. Soon after, a vessel on a larger scale was exhibited in perfect action on the Forth-and-Clyde Canal. The idea, neglected for a few years, was revived by Mr Fulton, an American, who, in 1807, established a steam-vessel on the Hudson River, the first in the world that was regularly employed in conveying passengers. In 1812, Mr Henry Bell of Helensburgh launched on the Clyde a similar vessel, which was the first seen in Europe; and from that period, steam-vessels quickly became numerous. Their superiority in making way without regard to wind or tide, was in time universally acknowledged, and recently they have been used in voyages across the ocean.

425. During this period, considerable efforts were made for the more general education of the people. Sunday-schools, first suggested by Mr Raikes of Gloucester, overspread the whole country, and proved the means of instructing many children who otherwise would have remained altogether ignorant. A plan of teaching children in large numbers, by employing the best pupils as monitors or assistants, was originated by Dr Bell of Madras, and widely employed; and two great societies were formed for the purpose of establishing and supporting schools in the districts where they were most needed. This period also beheld the rise of various societies, whose object it was to send missionaries to convert the heathen in distant lands, and to disseminate Bibles both at home and abroad. Great efforts were at the same time made in Britain to put an end to slavery in the West Indian colonies.

426. The latter part of the reign of George III. was also distinguished by great improvements in the dress and social condition of the people. In the year 1750, cocked-hats, wigs, swords, and buckles, were generally worn, and all gentlemen used hair-powder. Between the years 1790 and 1800, these and many other old fashions disappeared, and the more simple costume of the present day came into use. Speedy travelling by stage-coaches, and the rapid

transmission of letters by mail-carriages, became at the same time general in all parts of the United Kingdom.

427. At no period did a more brilliant class of literary men exist. Poetry assumed new and attractive forms in the works of Campbell, Moore, Southey, Wordsworth, Byron, and Scott. The novel or fictitious tale was advanced to a dignity it had never known before, in consequence of the production, by Sir Walter Scott, of a series of such compositions, in the highest degree dramatic and entertaining. In the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, periodical criticism acquired an importance it had never before possessed. At the same time, the more grave walks of divinity, history, and travels, were filled by a respectable body of writers. The name of Sir Humphry Davy stands pre-eminent in science, which was also cultivated with distinguished success by Wollaston, Leslie, Playfair, and Robison. In philosophical literature, the names of Dugald Stewart and Thomas Brown demand peculiar respect.

REIGN OF GEORGE IV.—DOMESTIC EVENTS—COMMERCIAL DIFFICULTIES.

428. At the time when George IV. commenced his reign, the Manchester affair, and the recent proceedings of the ministry, had inspired a small band of desperate men with the design of assassinating the ministers at a cabinet dinner, and afterwards attempting to set themselves up as a provisional government. On the 23d of February 1820, they were surprised by the police in their place of meeting, and, after a desperate resistance, five were seized, among whom one Thistlewood was the chief. These wretched men were tried for high treason, and executed. Nearly about the same time, an attempt was made by the workmen in the west of Scotland to subvert the government; and two men were executed.

429. On the accession of the king, his consort's name had been omitted from the liturgy. This and other indignities induced her to return from a voluntary exile in Italy (June 1820), to the great embarrassment of the king and his ministers. Her Majesty, who had long been befriended by

the Opposition, was received by the people with the warmest expressions of sympathy. Her guilt, if any really attached to her, was partly overlooked on account of the greater licentiousness of life ascribed to her husband, and the persecutions which she had suffered for twenty-four years. The king, who had established a system of observation round Her Majesty during her absence from the country, caused a bill of pains and penalties against her to be brought (July 6) into the House of Lords, which thus became a court for her trial. The examination of witnesses occupied several weeks; but no evidence of Her Majesty's criminality could soften the indignation with which the prosecution was regarded throughout the country, and the government considered it expedient to abandon it. When the king's coronation was celebrated, the queen made an attempt to enter Westminster Abbey, but was refused admittance by the military officers who guarded the doors. She died a few days afterwards, of an illness aggravated, if not caused, by the mortifications she had undergone.

430. During the month of August 1821, the king paid a visit to Ireland, where he was received with much cordiality by all classes of the people. In September, he paid a visit to the kingdom of Hanover. In August of the ensuing year, he completed this series of visits by a voyage to Scotland, where, owing to the novelty of the occasion, and the historical associations which it was the means of awakening, he was also received with enthusiasm. During his absence in Scotland, his leading minister, the Marquis of Londonderry (formerly Lord Castlereagh), put an end to his own life, in consequence of a morbid sense of the difficulty of his official position. His successor in the direction of Foreign Affairs was Mr George Canning, a statesman of more enlightened and humane spirit than most of his colleagues, and, among other popular qualities, possessing a rich and classical style of parliamentary eloquence.

431. The two ensuing years were characterised by an extraordinary activity in almost every department of trade and commerce. Mr Huskisson, an able commercial minister introduced by Mr Canning, originated several measures highly important; especially the repeal of all

duties on goods passing between Great Britain and Ireland—an alteration in the duties affecting the silk manufacture—the repeal of the combination laws, and of the law against the emigration of artisans; while the executive formed commercial treaties, on the reciprocity system, with various countries of Europe, and by acknowledging the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies in America, drew them as additional customers into the British market.

432. Capital now so far exceeded the ordinary means of its employment, that many joint-stock companies were formed, as a means of giving it a wider range than that to which it was usually limited. Some of these associations professed objects which were by long-established usage the proper business of individuals alone, and others involved hazardous and visionary projects, which were to be carried into effect in remote countries. The depressed state of trade in 1821 and 1822 had led to a diminished importation and production of goods, and been succeeded by an advance of prices in 1823. The consequence was a sudden and unusually active demand, and a powerful reaction of supply, which did not cease till production had far exceeded the bounds of moderation. Through the facilities afforded by large issues of paper-money, the delusion was kept up longer than it would otherwise have been. The first symptom of something being wrong, was the turning of the exchange against England. A diminution of issues at the bank followed. Merchants began to feel a difficulty in answering pecuniary obligations. Then took place a run upon the banks, some of which, both in London and in the country, were obliged to stop payment. Between October 1825 and February 1826, fifty-nine commissions of bankruptcy were issued against English country banks, and four times the number of private compositions are said to have taken place during the same period. While the merchant and manufacturer were without credit, the operatives were without employment, and distress reached almost every class of the community. Some liberal pecuniary measures on the part of the Bank of England, helped in a short time, rather by inspiring confidence than by actual dis-

bursement of money, to retrieve, in part, the embarrassed circumstances of the country.

THE WELLINGTON ADMINISTRATION—TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS—CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

433. In the spring of 1827, the illness of Lord Liverpool, followed soon after by his death, opened the way for Mr Canning's promotion to the first place in the administration; on which occasion, for various reasons of a personal as well as of a political character, the more uncompromising class of Tories resigned their places, leaving the reins of government in the hands of a comparatively popular party. Mr Canning, however, sank under the new load imposed upon him, and died in the ensuing August. His friend Lord Goderich succeeded as premier; but resigned in January 1828, when the Duke of Wellington was appointed in his place, with Mr (afterwards Sir) Robert Peel as secretary for the home department.

434. This administration was chiefly remarkable for two measures, little expected from it, for the removal of religious disabilities. By the enactments called the Test and Corporation Acts, passed in the reign of Charles II., all persons were obliged to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church, before sitting in Parliament, or assuming any of the higher public offices, whether civil or military. This, which amounted virtually to the exclusion of Protestant dissenters from important official positions, was felt to be a severe grievance, now that their numbers were rapidly multiplying, and many of them had attained to great wealth and influence. The obnoxious acts were abolished in 1828, and the way was opened for a similar repeal of the laws which had been enacted against the Roman Catholics after the Revolution of 1688. The more severe of these (see 314, 315) had already been gradually abolished, but disabilities similar to those that had affected Protestant dissenters still remained; and the impatience of the Catholic population of Ireland under them was becoming so great, that there appeared little hope of peace or public order till their demands were

conceded. The celebrated Daniel O'Connell was the leader of the agitation, which became so formidable, that Wellington and Peel gave way, though hitherto strenuously opposed to the least concession in this quarter. The scruples of the sovereign also were overcome, the emancipation of the Roman Catholics was recommended in the speech from the throne, and passed early in the session of 1829. The consequence was the breaking up of the great Tory party, whose principles had been compromised by this act of their leading men; and it was about this time, and on this question, that those opposed to popular concessions assumed the name of Conservatives. The king did not live to see the result of the measures which had been forced upon him. He died at Windsor on the 26th June 1830, apparently little regretted. For some years he had seldom appeared to his subjects, even at the opening of parliament; but had passed a secluded life at Windsor in the indulgence of sensual pleasures, ill befitting his advanced years and exalted station.

435. The foreign event most interesting to Britain in this reign was the war in India with the Burmese, who had made frequent encroachments on the British settlements adjoining their country. A small army was sent to invade them: they were totally defeated after a severe struggle; and when the British troops were within forty-five miles of their capital, a peace was concluded, by which we gained a considerable accession of territory beyond the Ganges.

436. During the short period of Mr Canning's administration, England united with France and Russia on behalf of the Greek nation, who implored their assistance against the oppression of the Turkish emperor. On this occasion, the Turkish fleet was attacked by the allied powers in the harbour of Navarino, and destroyed after a desperate engagement. The independence of the Greeks was eventually attained.

REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.—PARLIAMENTARY, MUNICIPAL, AND
OTHER REFORMS.

437. George IV. was succeeded by his brother the Duke of Clarence, under the title of WILLIAM THE FOURTH. About a month after, a great sensation was produced in Britain by a revolution which took place in France, the main line of the Bourbon family being expelled, and the crown conferred upon Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orleans. By this event, a new impulse was given to the reforming spirit in Britain, and the demand for an improvement in the parliamentary representation became loud and general. The consequence was the retirement of the Wellington administration in November, and the formation of a Whig cabinet, headed by Earl Grey, which came into power upon an understanding that it was to introduce bills for parliamentary reform—that is, for making the House of Commons a fair representation of the great body of the people, whereas the government and the aristocracy had hitherto enjoyed a powerful influence in the election and nomination of its members. In the course of time, owing chiefly to the development of manufacturing and commercial industry, many large towns had risen up, which, not being ancient boroughs, had no representatives in parliament. On the other hand, many boroughs which were formerly places of importance, and still retained the privilege of sending two members, were now towns only in name, and the parliamentary seats attached to them were disposed of by the lords of the soil. It was deemed proper, therefore, that the representation should be transferred from these rotten boroughs, or pocket-boroughs, as they were called, to the large towns; and also, that the franchise should be extended, so as to embrace the middle as well as the higher classes. These measures, tending as they did to abridge the power of the aristocracy, and increase that of the people, met with strong opposition from the Conservative party. The conflict was watched with intense interest throughout the country. When the Reform bills were defeated in the House of Commons, it was dissolved,

in order that the opinion of the people might be expressed in a new election, which accordingly took place under circumstances of great excitement. The new House of Commons at once passed the measures ; but they could not be carried through the Upper House till the plan of creating new peers favourable to reform was proposed. The bills thus became law in the summer of 1832.

438. During the few years which followed the passing of the Reform bills, the attention of Parliament was chiefly occupied by a series of measures which a large portion of the public deemed necessary for improving the institutions of the country, and for other beneficial purposes. In 1833, a reform took place in the mode of electing the councils and magistracies of the Scottish boroughs. Instead of regulations which took their rise in an early age, and had been found productive of mismanagement, the parliamentary constituencies were empowered, in all except a few cases, to choose the town-councillors, to whom then belonged the duty of appointing the requisite number out of their own body to act as magistrates. In 1835, the English municipal corporations were reformed, upon a principle similar to that applied to Scotland, except that the rate-payers and freemen were appointed to form the electoral bodies, and that the councils in most cases were to consist of a greater number of members. A modified reform of the same kind took place in Ireland, by virtue of an act passed in 1840.

439. By these various reform bills, on which there has been much difference of opinion, a very important change was effected in constitutional arrangements. They may be said to have transferred a considerable degree of power from the aristocracy to the middle classes, who have thereupon gained a widely-extended influence as respects legislation and the ordinary administration of affairs.

440. In the year 1834, an act was passed for amending the laws for the support of the poor in England, which had long been a subject of general complaint. One of the chief provisions of the new enactment established a government commission for the superintendence of the local boards of management, which had latterly been ill conducted, and were now proposed to be reformed. The able-bodied poor

were also deprived of the right which had been conferred upon them at the end of the eighteenth century, to compel parishes to support them, either by employment at a certain rate, or by pecuniary aid to the same amount: they were now left no resource, failing employment, but that of entering poor-houses, where they were separated from their families. The contemplated results of this measure were a reduction of the enormous burden of the poor-rates, which had latterly exceeded seven millions annually, and a check to the degradation which indiscriminate support was found to produce in the character of the labouring-classes. Some years later, the system of poor-laws for Scotland and Ireland was also amended; but with less satisfactory results.

441. A highly important measure, in a moral point of view, was the abolition of slavery in the colonies, the sum of twenty millions being paid to the owners of the negroes, as a compensation for resigning a right of property which had long been a disgrace to humanity. By this act, eight hundred thousand slaves were (August 1, 1834) placed in the condition of freemen, but subject to an apprenticeship to their masters for a few years. This apprenticeship was to cease, partly on the 1st of August 1838, and partly on the same day in 1840; but a clamour having been raised against the duration of the apprenticeship, its period was subsequently shortened, and the negroes became universally free on the 1st of August 1838.

442 On the renewal of the charter of the East India Company, the government deprived it of its exclusive mercantile privileges, and extended to the community at large the right of trading with China. The ancient policy of not allowing Europeans to settle in Hindostan was also departed from, under some restrictions of inferior importance. Several measures of reform, equally advantageous to the public, were effected in the administration of the law, and in the privileges held by the Bank of England.

443. During the same session, the ministry were opposed in endeavouring to carry through Parliament a bill to enable them to take coercive measures for restraining turbulence in Ireland; and Earl Grey, who had now passed his seventieth year, retired into private life at this juncture. He

was succeeded by Viscount Melbourne, who, except during a brief period of four months, continued in office till 1841. The Melbourne administration succeeded in passing the Irish Coercion Bill; also, an act for commuting tithes in England into a corn-rent, payable in money; another for legalising marriages performed by dissenting ministers; and another for a general registration of births, deaths, and marriages.

444. From this time, there was a marked diminution in the zeal which had for some years been manifested for changes in the national institutions. Early in 1837, the ministry again introduced into the House of Commons a bill for settling the Irish tithe question; but before this or any other measure of importance had been carried, the king died (June 20) in the seventy-third year of his age, and seventh of his reign. The deceased monarch is allowed to have been a conscientious and amiable man, of a pleasant domestic disposition, not remarkable for ability, but at the same time free from gross faults. He was succeeded by his niece, the Princess VICTORIA, only child of the late Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III.

REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

445. QUEEN VICTORIA began to reign June 20, 1837, having just completed her eighteenth year; was crowned on the 28th of June in the following year; and was married to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, February 10, 1840. From this union has now sprung a numerous family—thus giving new security to the continuance of the present dynasty. In 1843, the Queen paid a visit, entirely divested of state formalities, to the royal family of France; and shortly after made another to her uncle, the king of the Belgians. In 1845, besides making the tour of the English midland counties, the royal pair visited the family of Prince Albert at Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; receiving the attentions of the various German powers that lay on their outward and homeward route. Her Majesty received in return the friendly visits of several crowned heads, among whom were the king of the French,

Leopold of Belgium, the king of Saxony, and the emperor of Russia. Such interchanges and attentions are not without their importance; at all events, they are characteristic of a new era in the history of Europe. Her Majesty also introduced the novelty of travelling through her own dominions in a manner and to an extent quite unprecedented in the annals of English history; committing herself and family to the railways of the country, without state formalities or military escort, spending some weeks every autumn in the north of Scotland, and visiting the large manufacturing and commercial towns throughout the kingdom.

446. The year 1839 was disturbed by the agitations of the Chartists—a political body, deriving their name from the Charter of liberties which they deemed necessary to the wellbeing of the community. The points for which they proposed chiefly to contend were: that suffrage should be universal—that is, that every grown person, whatever his social position, should have a voice in the election of representatives, that these elections should be annual, and by ballot; that every man, without regard to the extent of his property, should be eligible to sit in Parliament; and that he should be paid a suitable sum while thus engaged in the service of his country.

447. The Whig ministry and measures, which had for some time been on the decline, were set aside by a vote of “no confidence” in the summer of 1841; a dissolution of Parliament was the consequence; and after the new elections, the Opposition was found to be so far in the ascendancy, that Viscount Melbourne tendered his resignation, and retired from public life, leaving Sir Robert Peel again at the helm of affairs.

448. The year 1843 witnessed the progress and decline of alarming political agitation in Ireland for a repeal of the Union between that kingdom and Great Britain. Monster meetings were held in various parts of the country; but the government at length interfered to prevent them, and commenced a prosecution against O’Connell and five of his coadjutors. They were condemned to two years’ imprisonment; but the judgment was set aside by the House of Lords on a technical point of law. O’Connell,

considerably broken down in health and spirits, withdrew to the continent, where he died shortly afterwards.

449. South Wales was about the same time the scene of alarming riots and incendiary fires, raised by persons dressed in smock-frocks, and assuming the name of "Rebecca and her Daughters." The toll-bars were the principal objects of their vengeance on account of their real or fancied grievances; and nearly every one of them was levelled with the ground. This disturbance also died away.

450. The same year (1843) was memorable in the religious history of Scotland. Lay-patronage had long been the vexed question of its national church, and had occasioned several considerable secessions from it. In 1834, the General Assembly had passed a law, called the *Veto Act*, for modifying this patronage; but in the attempt to carry it out, they were thwarted by the patrons appealing to the civil courts, and finding law on their side. Under these circumstances, above 400 ministers solemnly and simultaneously left the Established Church, taking with them a large proportion of the people, and formed a separate body, known as the Free Church of Scotland.

451. About the same time arose a party in the Church of England, called Puseyites—from Dr Pusey, one of their leaders—or Tractarians, from their adherence to the doctrines of a series of tracts emanating from Oxford. Without making any open rupture, they have considerably divided the feelings of the Anglican Church, by endeavouring to restore ceremonials which they allege belonged to it before the corruptions of the middle ages. The religious jealousies which have thus arisen in each of the great divisions of the United Kingdom, have proved insuperable obstacles to the introduction of a system of national education.

452. An important alteration was made in the monetary system of the country by a law which restrained banks from issuing more notes than they had gold to pay on demand. The people were thus rendered comparatively secure from the calamities which had often hitherto occurred from the failure of banking-houses during a panic.

453. But the abolition of the Corn-Laws was the most important measure of the Peel administration, and, like the Emancipation Act of 1829, it was one quite opposed to the political principles of which he was considered the leading representative. The Corn-Laws had provided, that the duty on imported grain should be on a sliding-scale, according to the necessity for it as indicated by its market-price in this country; that is, that whenever home-grown wheat was so scarce as to command a high price, the importation should be encouraged by the duty being partly or wholly removed; while, on the other hand, the agriculturists of our own country should not be discouraged by the free introduction of foreign wheat at lower prices than it was possible for them to compete with. It was now proposed (1846) by Sir Robert Peel, that the duty should be a fixed one, and so low as to encourage importation, and thus secure a constant supply at a moderate price. The measure, calculated as it was to make bread cheap and plentiful for the time to come, was received as a precious boon by the masses of the people; but with such severe disapprobation by Sir Robert's political supporters, that he resigned his office a few days after the passing of the bill. He was succeeded by Lord John Russell, to whom was assigned the task of carrying out still further the principles of free-trade.

454. The general tendency of the measures which have since occupied the legislature, has been the removal of restrictions on trade and manufactures. Direct taxes on property and income have been substituted for indirect ones on articles of consumption.

455. The year 1845 was remarkable for the projection of numerous railways, and a wild spirit of speculation in these schemes. So much money was sunk in prosecuting them, that there was not enough to carry on the ordinary business of the nation. Many great merchants and manufacturers became bankrupt, thousands of clerks and workmen were thrown out of employment, and every department of trade suffered depression in consequence of the scarcity of money. Meanwhile, though certainly at a great sacrifice, the railway system made immense

progress, and began to overspread all parts of the country. In connection with it, the wonderful operations of the electric telegraph were brought into use; and now, after a few years, a system of communication by the electric-telegraph apparatus is established on the most important routes throughout Great Britain and to the continent, by submarine conductors. This, with the vast spread of communication by railway, forms the most interesting feature of recent times.

456. In 1848, the peace of Europe was for a time disturbed by attempts to establish more liberal forms of government. There were some outbreaks in both Great Britain and Ireland; but, happily, the good sense of the people preserved the United Kingdom from any serious disorders, and at no time was the Queen more securely fixed in the affection and loyalty of her subjects.

457. The event most to be deplored about this period, was the occurrence of the potato disease in Ireland, followed by a famine in that country, during which great distress was experienced. This calamity was assuaged as far as possible by the importation and distribution of food, at the expense of public and private benevolence. In consequence of their sufferings from the famine, and new arrangements which ensued respecting land, great numbers of the Irish emigrated to America, and the population of Ireland was greatly diminished.

458. Since 1848, the condition of the United Kingdom has been generally prosperous. Agriculture has steadily advanced by the extended use of more scientific methods of draining and manuring; machinery of every description has been greatly improved, and its application carried into almost every known process.

459. The period now under review is remarkable for the great efforts which have been made to diffuse knowledge more generally amongst the people. *Mechanics' Institutions* have been formed in most of the larger towns, for the instruction of that class of the community in mechanical and natural science. Various periodical works of a cheap nature have been also commenced, for the purpose of communicating science and other branches of knowledge, in

such forms as to be intelligible to the less educated classes. At the same time, considerable efforts have been made by means of ordinary schools, schools of design, philosophical associations, and the like, to extend still further the benefits of education. Important progress has been also made in the matter of public health; the erection of baths, the laying out of parks for recreation, the enforcement of better sewerage, the prohibition of underground dwellings, and the dissemination of sounder views as to cleanliness and ventilation, being features peculiar to the period. Great improvement has been effected in our prison discipline by the erection of more appropriate jails, and a careful classification and treatment of criminals; while, with a view to lessen juvenile depravity, Industrial Schools for the reclaiming of poor children have been established in several of the more populous towns.

COLONIAL AND FOREIGN EVENTS.

460. The first year of Queen Victoria's reign was disturbed by the breaking out of a rebellion in Canada, in consequence of various and ill-defined political grievances. Though supported by sympathising adventurers from the United States, it was soon suppressed, and legislative measures were taken to prevent its recurrence. The provinces hitherto called Upper and Lower Canada were united under one legislative body, and everything was done to allay the conflict of races that had hitherto distracted the colony, and to give unity to the purposes and actions of the people, who hitherto had formed many different parties, pursuing various and often opposite political ends. A treaty with the United States, by which the boundary between their territories and ours in the Oregon Country, west of the Rocky Mountains, was definitely agreed on (1846), tended much to settle the state of our American colonies.

461. The British merchants residing in China for the prosecution of the tea-trade, had for several years been subject to annoyances and grievances more or less serious, which the Chinese government refused to redress. Matters

were brought to a crisis in 1840 · war was declared ; and a fleet was sent out with Sir Henry Pottinger as plenipotentiary. A conflict ensued, in which the English were completely victorious : China was compelled to renew the commercial relations on a more liberal footing ; to pay a large sum of money as reparation for the expenses of the war ; and to cede the small island of Hong Kong ("sweet waters"), where our merchants now reside under British rule.

462. Great Britain, in common with other European powers, was called on to interfere between the Ottoman Porte and Mahomet Ali, his pacha in Egypt, who had not only assumed an independent sovereignty there, but was proceeding to strip the emperor of his Asiatic dominions. When differences were arranged, Mahomet Ali was allowed to retain his position in Egypt, but was obliged to evacuate Syria.

463. An unnecessary aggression upon Afghanistan was followed by a disastrous defeat of our troops, and their subsequent withdrawal from that country ; but an extension of British rule took place in India by the annexation of the Punjab, after several severe battles with the Sikhs.

464. The year 1848, as stated above, was characterised by political convulsions on the continent of Europe. On the 24th February, a revolution commenced in France, by a general rising of the people against their sovereign Louis-Philippe. He fled from the storm which was gathering round him, and took refuge in England. The people declared France a Republic, and eagerly proceeded to demolish all traces of monarchical government, with singular forbearance, however, towards the lives of individuals. The shock spread throughout Prussia, Austria, Italy ; and indeed in almost every state of Europe, there was a momentary struggle for more constitutional government and popular freedom. A speedy reaction, however, rendered the monarchs of these states more absolute than ever. After some disturbances, not quelled without bloodshed, the French nation elected Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, president of their Republic, and tranquillity generally prevailed. Again, on the 21st and 22d of November 1852, the president was elected emperor

by nearly eight million votes, and took the title of "Napoleon III., Emperor of the French."

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

465. It was at the favourable period, when continental affairs had settled down pretty quietly after the convulsions of 1848, and our own country had enjoyed years of peace and prosperity, that the prince-consort of Great Britain deemed the time was come when all the nations of the world might be invited to bring together and compare the products of their various genius and industry. An immense structure of glass framed in iron was erected in London, and hither, from almost every country and clime in the world, the choicest productions of human industry were brought. Her Majesty opened the Exhibition in person (May 1, 1851), and continued constantly to visit it. It remained open for four months, during which time the daily attendance averaged above 43,000. Great Britain thus appeared in the enviable position of the centre of the arts of peace and industry for the whole world.

466. This wonderful structure was purchased by a joint-stock company for re-erection, and the materials were removed to Sydenham, where a new site had been found. The new building, much more elegant in form than the first, may be regarded as the greatest artificial wonder of the world. It forms a vast conservatory, in which, by simple means, the most diversified climates are obtained in various parts, and the characteristic vegetation of the different quarters of the globe is fully represented. Among the foliage are interspersed casts of the most noted groups and statues of the world. Several quadrangles are devoted to the illustration of the successive periods of architecture and decorative art, and of national manners. With a series of ornamental and architectural casts, have been combined all such memorials of extinct or dormant processes of art, as may be presumed likely to afford illustrations of the past and hints for the future. Large spaces have been left for the general purposes of exhibition. There are

also here collected specimens of the great staple materials of the world, from their raw condition, through all their various stages, up to the most perfect manufactures—involving the presence of machinery, of the most complicated and interesting description, in full work. The grounds around the building—upwards of 250 acres—are laid out as a park and pleasure-grounds, with fountains and other sumptuous embellishments. They contain geological illustrations, arranged not as mere collections, but so as to display the order, construction, and connection of the various strata and their contained fossils, the appearance of the country lying over each, &c. The establishment has been named *The Palace of the People*, and may be said to exhibit the world in miniature.

467. After a peace of forty years, England is again involved in a European war. Russia, it is well known, had long had an eye upon Constantinople and the European possessions of the Sultan, and had contrived in various treaties to lay the foundation of a claim to something like a protectorate of the Christian population of Turkey, who belong almost exclusively to the Greek Church, of which the Czar is the head. Taking advantage of the present weakness of Turkey, the Emperor Nicholas began early in 1853 to urge this claim in a form which it was impossible for Turkey to admit without ceasing to be an independent state. The other great powers of Europe interfered as mediators, but in vain. In the meantime, a Russian army had taken possession of Moldavia and Wallachia. After nearly a year of fruitless diplomacy, negotiations were broken off, and England and France resolved to support the cause of justice by armed intervention. War was officially declared against the Emperor of Russia on the 27th of March 1854.

468. Though the immediate occasion of the war was thus a chivalrous resolve to support right against might, there is another feeling mixed up with it. The steady and stealthy encroachment of the Russian frontier in all directions, has long excited uneasiness in observant men. These aggressions on the territories of her neighbours have been almost always made on the plea of *protecting* discon-

tented subjects against their legitimate sovereign. Such was the case with regard to Georgia, the Crimea, and the Ukraine. When the old pretext, then, was again heard, it became natural to ask—Where is this to stop? Is it prudent in those nations who, from their position, are safe in the meantime, to stand by and see the others swallowed up one after another, and not rather make common cause, while enough is left to resist? This feeling is no longer confined to politicians, whose special business it is to take care of the balance of power, but has become popular among the peoples of the West. Perhaps nothing short of this energetic instinct of self-preservation could have succeeded in soothing down the ancient jealousies and enmities of England and France, and made their co-operation possible. This is one good at least sprung from what is in itself one of the greatest evils. And if we are to be reconciled to war at all, it may well be to a war that sends forth side by side the once hostile armies and navies of the two great Western powers; and that not for conquest or self-aggrandisement, but in the cause of humanity—to prevent, while it is yet time, the civilisation and freedom of Western Europe from being overrun by the semibarbarism and serfdom of Russia.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF BRITISH SOVEREIGNS.

Conquest of Britain by the Romans,.... . B. C. 55.
 Relinquishment by the Romans,..... A. D. 440.
 Conquest of England by the Saxons,.....449.
 Heptarchy in England from.....585 to about 800.
 Petty states united under Egbert between 800 and 820.

ENGLAND.

SCOTLAND.

ANGLO-SAXON LINE.

	Began to Reign.	End of Reign.
Egbert.....	820.....	837
Ethelwolf... ..	837.....	857
Ethelbald.....	857.....	860
Ethelbert.	860.....	866
Ethelred I.	866.....	871
Alfred..... .	871.....	901
Edward F.....	901.....	925
Athelstan.. ..	925.....	940
Edmund.	940.....	947
Edred.	947.....	955
Edwin.	955.....	959
Edgar..... .	959.....	975
Edward II.. . . .	975.....	978
Ethelred II.....	978.....	1016
Edmund Ironside ..	1016	1018

DANISH LINE.

Canute I.	1014	1036
Harold I.	1036.....	1039
Hardicanute II.....	1039.....	1041

ANGLO-SAXON LINE RESTORED.

Edward the Con-		
fessor.....	1041.....	1066
Harold II.....	1066.....	1066

NORMAN LINE.

William I., or Con-		
queror.....	1066.	1087
William II., or Ru-		
fus.....	1087.....	1100
Henry I.....	1100.....	1135
Stephen... ..	1135	1154

The history of Scotland previous to Duncan I., 1034, is obscure and of little importance. Authentic Scottish history is usually reckoned from the reign of Malcolm III., or Canmore, 1057—1093.

Began to Reign.	End of Reign.
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Duncan.....	1034.....	1040
Macbeth.....	1040.....	1057

Malcolm III., or		
Canmore	1057.....	1093
Donald VI., or		
Bane.....	1093.....	1098
Edgar... ..	1098.....	1107
Alexander I.	1107.....	1124
David I.... .	1124.....	1153
Malcolm IV.....	1153.....	1165

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF BRITISH SOVEREIGNS. 259

ENGLAND.

LINE OF PLANTAGENET				
	Began to Reign	End of Reign.	Began to Reign.	End of Reign
Henry II.	1154	1189	William I., or the Lion ...	1165 ... 1214
(Ireland annexed to crown of England 1172)			Alexander II.	1214.....1249
Richard I., or Cœur de Lion . . .	1189.	1199	Alexander III. .	1249 1286
John.....	1199 ..	1216	Margaret	1286 1290
Henry III.	1216 ..	1272	Interregnum.	.
Edward I.	1272.....	1307	John.....	1292 1296
Edward II.	1307.....	1327	Interregnum—wars of Wallace and Bruce with Ed- ward I. and II.	
Edward III.	1327. .	1377		
Richard II.	1377.....	1399		

LINE OF LANCASTER

Henry IV.	1399.....	1413
Henry V.	1413. .	1422
Henry VI.	1422..	1461

LINE OF BRUCE

Robert I., or Bruce	1306 ..	1329
David II.	1329...	1371

LINE OF YORK.

Edward IV.	1461 .	1483
Edward V..	1483 ...	1483
Richard III.	1483 .	1485

LINE OF STEWART

Robert II.	1371. .	1390
Robert III.	1390 ..	1406
James I.	1406 .	1437
James II.	1437 ...	1460

LANCASTER AND YORK UNITED, OR TUDOR LINE

Henry VII.	1485.....	1509
Henry VIII.	1509... .	1547
Edward VI.	1547... .	1553
Mary I.	1553... .	1558
Elizabeth.....	1558 ..	1603

James III	1460. .	1488
James IV.....	1488 .	1513
James V.	1513..	1542
Mary.....	1542 .	1567
James VI.	1567.	

Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in the person of James VI., or I. of England, 1603.

LINE OF STEWART

	Began to Reign.	End of Reign.
James I.	1603...	1625
Charles I.	1625.....	1649
[Commonwealth, and Pro- tectorate of Cromwell, 1649 to 1660, but this period usually reckoned as part of the reign of Charles II.]		
Charles II., actual reign	1660.....	1685
James II.	1685.....	1689

FRENCH CONTEMPORARIES

Henri IV. died	1610
Louis XIII.....	1610—1643

Louis XIV.....	1643—1715
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ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

LINE OF ORANGE.

	Began to Reign.	End of Reign
William III. and Mary II.	1689.....	1702

FRENCH CONTEMPORARIES.

LINE OF STEWART.

Anne.	1702.	..1714
(Legislative Union with Scotland 1707)		

GREAT BRITAIN.

Conclusion of Anne's reign.....	1714	Louis XV.... 1715—1774 (Early part of his reign, Regency of Orleans.)
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LINE OF BRUNSWICK

George I..	1714 . . .	1727	Louis XVI 1774—1792 Put to death 1793.
George II...	1727.....	1760	Louis XVII, a child, died in 1795(?)
George III	1760.....	1820	[French Republic from 1792 to 1804. Napo- leon emperor from 1804 to 1814.]
(Legislative Union with Ire- land 1800)			

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND.

Conclusion of George III.'s reign.....	1820	Louis XVIII 1814—1824
George IV	1820..... 1830	Charles X.....1824—1830
William IV.....	1830.....1837	Louis-Philippe 1830-1848
Victoria I.....	1837,	Republic. ... 1848-1852
		Napoleon III.
		emperor 1852.

PRESENT STATE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

TERRITORY AND POPULATION.

*466. The British empire, as at present constituted, is universally acknowledged to be one of the greatest that exists, or ever has existed, on the face of the globe. Its territories are of vast extent; embracing England, Scotland, and Ireland, which form what is termed the mother-country, and a range of colonies and dependencies in all quarters of the world.

*467. The total area of the British islands is about 77 million acres, of which 47 millions are under cultivation. The population is estimated at about 28 millions.

*468. The metropolis of the empire is LONDON, with a population (in 1851) of above two millions; and here are situated the palaces of the sovereign and royal family, the Houses of Parliament, the chief law-courts, and numerous institutions of a national character. Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, and Dublin, the capital of Ireland, have been only of secondary importance since the union of these countries with England. Both are still, however, the seats of their respective national law-courts; the latter, moreover, exhibiting a reflex of the royal presence, in the person of a viceroy or lord-lieutenant, who, assisted by a privy-council and chief-secretary, maintains a certain amount of state dignity.

469. The superficial features of England, though not devoid of variety and picturesque beauty, are, upon the whole, less varied than those of Scotland and Ireland. Generally speaking, its western side—as in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Wales, and Cornwall—is hilly, while the eastern side, sloping from these heights down to the German Ocean (as evidenced by the direction of its principal rivers), is of an undulating, flat, and sometimes monotonous character. On the whole, the surface presents much amenity, being

diversified by trees and hedgerows, well-cultured fields and rich pastures, sunny slopes and fertile river-valleys. The country abounds likewise with noblemen and gentlemen's seats, of handsome architecture; old castles, cathedrals, and churches; and its cottage-homes and hamlets are considered more neat and attractive than those of any other nation. No country of the same extent possesses such a number of busy, populous towns; and these, especially in the manufacturing districts, are increasing with astonishing rapidity.

470. Scotland, or the northern part of Britain, is more rugged and hilly than England, much indented by arms of the sea, studded with lakes, and intersected by numerous glens or mountain-valleys. Its naturally inferior soil has been prodigiously improved by art in modern times, and the surface greatly beautified by plantations, and the operations of the agriculturist. It is allowed that the Lowland Districts, latterly, have advanced in social and physical improvement at a more rapid pace than any other part of the civilised world, some of the states of the North American Union alone excepted.

471. Ireland, which, from the introduction of steam navigation, is now within a few hours' sail of the west coast of Great Britain, is a moderately hilly and beautiful green island. Though disfigured in many places by extensive bogs and morasses, the soil, generally speaking, is extremely fertile, and only wants drainage and culture to render it superior even to that of England. The country possesses many excellent harbours, and is finely situated for trade either with the continent of Europe or America. All that is wanting to give to Ireland the same degree of prosperity enjoyed by the other parts of the empire, appears to be energy, industry, enterprise, and a spirit of self-reliance on the part of the people.

NATIONAL CHARACTER, EMPLOYMENT, AND WEALTH.

472. The people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, possess certain national peculiarities of character; but these, from the general intercourse which now

prevails, are gradually disappearing, and a uniform British character is becoming daily more apparent. In this general and happy assimilation, the English qualities of mind and habits predominate.

473. The chief feature in the English character is an ardent love of liberty, which renders the people extremely tenacious of their civil rights, stern advocates of justice, and patriotic in the highest degree. In their manners, they are grave rather than gay, blunt rather than ceremonious. In their habits, they are enterprising, industrious, and provident; in their feelings, humane. The British merchant is noted for integrity and the faithful performance of promises. Though a large amount of misery and degradation exists, the upper and extensive middle classes have attained a high degree of refinement and civilisation; nowhere are the social virtues more cultivated, or such an amount of domestic comfort to be met with. There are some favourite field-sports and boisterous amusements, but the enjoyments of the English are chiefly within doors. A love of home is a marked peculiarity in the affections of the British.

474. The eminent importance attained by the British in the scale of nations, appears to depend mainly upon two features of the common character—the high moral and intellectual qualities of the people at large, and their extraordinary skill in producing articles of necessity and luxury, as well as their dexterity in the commerce by which these are diffused over the world.

475. About one-third of the population is agricultural, and it is believed that the annual value of the produce of fields, gardens, pasture, and woodlands, is nearly 220 millions sterling. The farmers or leasers of the ground are in general much superior in wealth and style of living to the farmers of any other country in the world; being generally, to a certain extent, capitalists, who employ labourers to perform the actual business of rural economy.

476. In manufactures and commerce, Britain has long enjoyed a superiority over all other countries. For this the people have been indebted not only to their naturally industrious dispositions, and to the enlightened men who have in the course of time invented machinery for in-

creasing and cheapening the products of labour, but to the extraordinary abundance of mineral substances requisite for manufactures, and to the insular nature of the country, which admits of ready maritime communication with other regions. In consequence of these advantages combined, Britain has for a long time furnished articles of clothing and household convenience to many parts of the world, receiving in exchange either money or raw produce, which its own soil and climate do not permit of being grown.

477. The *Cotton* Manufacture, though the raw material can be obtained only in distant parts of the world, has risen, during seventy years, from about two hundred thousand pounds of annual produce, to the enormous sum of fifty-four millions, of which thirty-three millions are exported (1853). Cotton goods are manufactured chiefly by means of machinery, in large factories, principally about Manchester, Glasgow, and Paisley. These establishments give employment to about half a million of persons. Cotton goods are also manufactured by handloom-weavers, of whom a considerable number continue to strive against the overpowering competition of machinery.

478. The *Woollen* Manufacture, which is the oldest in Britain, is second to the cotton in amount, realising an annual value of about twenty-five millions. This sum includes, of course, all sorts of woollen and woisted stuffs—as broad-cloths, tweeds, blanketings, flannels, carpets, hosiery; in short, all articles into which wool enters as the principal material. The value of woollen goods exported from Great Britain in 1853, was little short of twelve millions sterling.

479. The *Linen* Manufacture has also been long prosecuted; but until recently, its progress has been inconsiderable, compared with that of our other manufactures. No very accurate statistics of the trade can be obtained, in consequence of hand-power being employed to a large extent both in the spinning and weaving of the material. According to the most careful estimate, the entire value of the linen manufacture of the United Kingdom does not exceed ten millions sterling.

480. The *Silk* Manufacture, introduced by French im-

migrants in the sixteenth century, is carried on to a great extent at Spitalfields, Coventry, Manchester, Paisley, and Glasgow. Silk enters into so many articles, either as a whole or as a component part, and is so widely spread over the kingdom, that any estimate of the value of the manufacture must be regarded merely as an approximation. Some years ago, it was stated at upwards of ten millions. The amount exported in 1853 was two millions.

481. The *Hardware* Manufacture is one in which the metallic and mineral wealth of the country, combined with the skill of British workmen, have long given us a pre-eminence over other nations. The iron-industry of the country has of late years undergone enormous expansion, especially in Scotland. The quantity of iron extracted from the mines of Great Britain, which in 1825 was 600,000 tons, had risen in 1848 to two million tons, and is now (1855) probably three millions. The manufacture of the finer class of hardware has its chief seat at Birmingham and Sheffield; machinery, shipbuilding, and the like, at Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Dundee; while the principal foundries for the preparation of the crude material are in Stirlingshire, Lanarkshire, Wales, and Staffordshire. The annual value of hardware manufactured in Britain was estimated in 1848 at twenty millions, giving employment to four hundred thousand hands. This is exclusive of watches, plate, jewellery, and other ornamental articles, which are valued at somewhere about three millions.

482. The miscellaneous manufactures of the country are so numerous and complicated, that it is impossible to form anything like a correct estimate of their respective values. *Leather* goods, for example, have been set down at an annual value of sixteen millions; *earthenware* and *china* at two and a half millions; *paper* at two millions; and similar valuations have been put upon glass, soap, malt liquors, and other similar products; but all such estimates must be regarded as mere approximations. "It is to be regretted," says Mr M'Culloch, "that there are no means of forming any estimate of the real value of the manufactured articles annually produced in Great Britain and Ireland; but the previous statements shew that it must be very great. There are, in

fact, but few departments in which we are able to obtain a tolerably close approximation to the gross value of the articles produced ; and even though we could do this in them all, the results would not be of so much value as is commonly supposed, and might, indeed, unless subjected to further examination and analysis, lead to the most erroneous conclusions. It is supposed by many, that whatever may be the annual value of our manufactured goods, we shall, by adding it to the annual value of our agricultural products, get the total value of the new commodities annually produced in the empire. But this is an error. The value of the British wool, for example, employed in the woollen manufacture, may amount to from five millions to five millions five hundred thousand pounds a year, and forms an item of this amount, in estimating the value of the manufacture. It is plain, however, that if we include this wool in any estimate of the agricultural produce of the country, we must exclude it from that of its manufactured produce ; for if we do not, it will be reckoned twice over. The same thing happens in a vast variety of cases. Hence the extreme difficulty of forming any fair estimate of the real value of many species of manufactures."

483. The commerce of Britain is conducted by vessels belonging to private parties within the realm, or in other countries. In 1853, the mercantile navy of the home country and its colonies consisted of thirty-five thousand registered vessels, of nearly five millions of aggregate tonnage. We obtain, however, a more distinct idea of the extent of the national commerce, from the statement that in 1853 the vessels, British and foreign, that entered and departed from British harbours in the foreign and colonial trade of the country, were about seventy thousand, with an aggregate of nearly fifteen millions of tonnage ; while in the coasting-trade the vessels and tonnage were nearly twice as much. The chief mercantile port of Britain is London ; the second, Liverpool ; other large ports are Glasgow and Greenock, Dublin, Newcastle, Bristol, Leith, Hull, Belfast, Cork, and Limerick. Duties exceeding eleven millions are annually paid to government for goods imported into London ; and harbour-dues to the amount of £224,000,

were collected in 1849 for vessels in the docks at Liverpool, which have a water-room of one hundred and eleven acres, and a quay-space of eight miles.

484. Besides tea, wine, and sugar, the imports of Britain consist chiefly of raw materials for manufactures, while the exports are almost exclusively manufactured goods. The greatest quantity of imports is from America; the greatest quantity of exports to the same part of the world. Tea, to the weight of sixty million lbs., is obtained from China. Wine, to the amount of about seven million gallons (in 1853), chiefly from Portugal and Spain. Sugar, to the amount of seven million cwts., is imported principally from the West Indies. Cotton, in its raw state, is obtained chiefly from the United States, and in smaller quantities from Brazil, the East Indies, and Egypt. Of wool, the coarser kind is obtained at home, while the finer kinds are imported from Germany and the colonies of Australia. Previously to the war, tallow, hemp, and timber to the value of above four millions, were imported from Russia.

485. British commerce has greatly increased of late years. The annual exports of produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom, which in 1849 were valued at about £64,000,000, rose in 1853 to £99,000,000. The value of the imports is considerably less. Of the 99 millions of exports, our own colonies took a third, or 33 millions; the share of Australia alone in that year being $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions, though two years before it had not required 3 millions. Next to Australia, came India, taking 8 millions, British America nearly 5 millions, the West Indies about 2 millions, and South Africa above one million. Of foreign countries, our best customers by far are the United States, the exports to which, in 1853, were $23\frac{1}{2}$ millions; in 1849, they had been about 12 millions. Germany took upwards of 7 millions, Holland above 4, Italy 3, Brazil 3, France $2\frac{1}{2}$, and Turkey rather less. The exports to Russia, even before the war, did not much exceed a million. Of the produce so exported, cotton goods yield by far the largest value, or about one-third of the whole; the produce of the iron manufacture comes next; after which, woollen, linen, silk, brass and copper articles rank in succession.

486. The currency or money of the United Kingdom is about £30,000,000 of gold and silver coin, and £40,000,000 of bank-notes, chiefly of the value of five or ten pounds—total £70,000,000. As nearly all large payments, however, are made by bills of exchange and drafts on bankers, there is an enormously large currency of that kind. It has been calculated that the amount of bills, promissory-notes, and bankers' drafts in circulation at any one time cannot be much less than £122,000,000. The centre of all the great money transactions of the British empire is London, in which is situated the Bank of England, or principal banking institution. The amount of foreign and inland bills of exchange and drafts payable in London daily, is estimated at £4,000,000. In Scotland, which is celebrated for its excellently conducted banking institutions, the money-currency is chiefly one-pound bank-notes and silver.

487. In all parts of the United Kingdom, there are now National Securities Savings-Banks, for which the national credit is pledged, for the safe custody of small sums, the savings of labour. The amount of deposits, chiefly the property of the humbler orders of the community, was lately upwards of thirty-two millions, and is annually increasing.

488. Notwithstanding the general wealth and industry of the country, it is reckoned that one in every nine of the population is a pauper, and the sum of above 6 millions is raised by law for the relief of the poor. The maintenance of the poor in England in 1852, cost 5s. 5d. per head of the whole population; in Scotland, the rate was 4s. 1d. and in Ireland, 1s. 7d.

GOVERNMENT.

489. The government of this large, industrious, and wealthy empire, is conducted according to forms and principles which have come into operation in the course of the events detailed in the earlier part of the present volume. The executive—that is, the power by which the laws are enforced—is intrusted by the nation to a hereditary monarch,

who rules under considerable limitations, and forms only one branch of the legislature. The legislature—that is, the power by which the laws are created—consists of three distinct but combined powers: (1.) A *House of Commons*, composed of six hundred and fifty-six gentlemen, elected by certain portions of the people to serve for a period not exceeding seven years; (2.) A *House of Peers*, composed of the hereditary nobles of England, the English archbishops and bishops, a certain number of lords representing the Scottish and Irish peerage, and a certain number of spiritual lords representing the Irish hierarchy; and, finally, (3.) The *King or Queen*. The Houses of Commons and Peers, otherwise styled the Lower and Upper Houses, form a compound deliberative body called *Parliament*, which is liable to be called together, and prorogued or dissolved at the sovereign's pleasure.

490. These law-giving and law-executing powers combine, in one system called the *British Constitution*, a variety of political principles, which elsewhere are oftener found acting singly. The House of Commons, as a representation of the people, may be said to be founded on the principle of democracy, or people-sovereignty, the House of Peers, which is independent of direct popular control, presents the principle of aristocracy, or noble-sovereignty, while the king contributes the monarchical principle, or sovereignty of one. It must be allowed, in explanation of a system so extraordinary, that the particular portions of the constitution have not always borne the same relative power, and that principles naturally so inconsistent could never perhaps have been combined at all, except by a process extending over many ages.

491. In early times, the king possessed the chief influence, while the Parliament, in general, was rather an obsequious council of the sovereign than an independent body. At the Revolution of 1688, the strength of the monarchy was diminished by a breach of the hereditary line, and the Parliament became the predominant power. As the nobility and superior gentry had then the chief influence in both Houses of Parliament, it might be said that the aristocratic principle had become ascendant. It

continued to be so till the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, when the power of electing the majority of the House of Commons being extended to the middle-classes of the people, the democratic principle was, for the first time, brought into any considerable degree of force.

492. The number of members in the House of Lords (1852) is 448; namely, 3 princes of the blood-royal, 20 dukes, 21 marquises, 114 earls, 22 viscounts, 194 barons, 16 peers of Scotland, 28 peers of Ireland, 26 English prelates, and 4 Irish representative prelates.

493. The House of Commons consists of 656 members; of whom 253 are chosen by counties, 6 by universities, and 397 by cities, boroughs, and towns. England returns 469 members, Wales 29, Ireland 105, and Scotland 53. The number of persons entitled to vote in the election of these members is somewhat above a million; of whom about 620,000 vote for county members, 5000 for representatives of universities, and 440,000 for members for cities, boroughs, and towns.

494. The qualification of an elector for a member of the House of Commons in counties, is the having been entitled to vote on a freehold qualification before the passing of the Reform Act (1832); or the holding land in copyhold of the clear annual value of ten pounds; or the possessing land or houses of ten pounds annual value in property, or on a lease of not less than sixty years in England, and fifty-seven in Scotland; or the occupation of lands or tenements in England for any period, and in Scotland for nineteen years, at an annual rent of not less than fifty pounds. The qualification of a borough elector, is the occupation of a house of ten pounds annual rent; the resident freemen in English and Irish boroughs being also allowed to vote. The utmost duration to which a Parliament can extend is seven years; and a new House of Commons must be elected within six months after the commencement of every new reign. The king, however, frequently exercises his prerogative of dissolving Parliament a considerable time before the expiration of the full time allowed to it by law.

495. The members of the House of Lords enjoy their seats from hereditary privilege. The sovereign possesses

the power of creating peers, and of nominating bishops. The Scottish representative peers are elected by the whole body of the peerage of that country, at the commencement of every new Parliament, or on the occurrence of a vacancy; the Irish representative peers are elected also by the whole body of the peerage of their country, but for life. The Irish spiritual peers sit in rotation. Several of the Scotch and Irish peers are also peers of England, by virtue of which they enjoy seats in the House of Lords, at the same time that they exercise their elective functions in Scotland or Ireland, as the case may be.

496. The king is not only at the head of the executive; he is also the head of the church, the commander of the army, the dispenser of all titles of honour, and even, by a fiction of the law, the person of whom all the landed property in his dominions is held. In the right of appointing the bishops, the judges, the lords-lieutenant and justices of peace of counties, the officers of the army and navy, and many other officers and public servants, he possesses a large amount of patronage, which conduces in no small degree to the maintenance of his authority. He has also the sole right of declaring war, though he is effectually controlled by the House of Commons, which may give or withhold the requisite funds, as it sees proper. Out of respect for the hereditary principle and the royal character, it is held that the king cannot of himself do any wrong, or be personally called to account for his actions. The responsibility for the performance of his functions rests with a body of servants, chosen by himself, and designated his *Ministers*, who cannot continue in that character without the approbation of Parliament, and are liable to be impeached by that body if they commit any grievous error.

497. Twelve of these officers, named the first Lord of the Treasury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal, the President of the Council, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Master-General of the Ordnance, the President of the Board of Control, and the Chancellor of the Dutchy

of Lancaster, usually constitute what is called the *Cabinet Council*, or Council of the King's Cabinet, to deliberate upon all matters of importance. Besides this body, the king has a *Privy Council*, consisting of persons eminent from rank, office, or personal character, who may be at variance with the Cabinet Council, but take no share in the government, except when summoned by the royal authority. They are then in the same situation with the Cabinet Ministers, and responsible for the advice they give.

498. The two Houses of Parliament usually sit, during a considerable portion of every year, in deliberation upon the affairs of the country, and for the enactment of new, or the repeal of old laws. Any member of either House may propose a new law; but this duty is chiefly undertaken by the king's ministers, and it is to the Lower or Commons' House that new laws are usually first proposed. When a proposed law has been introduced in the shape of a bill, and sanctioned in one House, it passes on to the other, which may receive, reject, or modify it. If it passes both, it is submitted to the king, who may give or withhold his approbation. When it has received the sanction of all the three branches of the legislature, it is called an Act of Parliament and becomes part of the laws of the country. The bills for the pecuniary supplies necessary for the public service are introduced exclusively by the House of Commons: they may be rejected by the House of Lords; but for that House to ~~reject~~ them, or to introduce any bill which involves pecuniary supply to the government, is considered a breach of the privileges of the Lower House.

REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND ARMED FORCE.

499. The public revenue of the United Kingdom is at present derived principally from five sources—namely, customs, excise, stamp-duties, assessed taxes, and property and income tax. *Customs-duties* are charged on a certain number of articles imported into the country. *Excise-duties* are charged on certain commodities produced or manufactured at home. *Stamp-duties* are mostly laid on the parchment or paper on which certain deeds, receipts,

newspapers, bills, and promissory-notes, are written or printed, and derive their name from the parchment or paper being impressed with a stamp, stating the amount of the duty. *Assessed taxes* include the duties on various things of personal possession and use, from lands and houses to dogs and hair-powder. There are some other inferior sources of revenue, such as the Post-office

500. The revenue of the United Kingdom amounted in the year ending April 5, 1854, to upwards of £54,000,000, and the expenditure to a somewhat smaller sum.

501. The public expenditure is made up of a vast variety of items, the most important of which are the interest of the National Debt, and the maintenance of the army and navy. The amount of the debt in 1854 was nearly £800,000,000, chiefly composed of various stocks, or loans at certain rates of interest. Lenders of money to the public are called stock or fund holders. The interest payable on the debt in 1854 was above £27,000,000.

502. The home territories of the empire are alone concerned in maintaining and controlling the government. It has been seen that an attempt to raise taxes in the colonies of North America, which sent no parliamentary representatives to join in imposing them, was the means of separating these colonies from the parent state. Since then, no similar attempt has been made in any other colonies of Great Britain. The most important of these, exclusive of India, are managed under the supreme direction of the British government, by governors appointed by the king, and by legislative bodies, raised within themselves, and resembling the British Parliament. The revenue of the home-country is, nevertheless, employed in protecting and fostering these dependencies, which have been ascertained to cost considerably more, year by year, than any direct profit which can be derived from the commerce which they carry on with British merchants.

503. The army of Great Britain has always maintained a high reputation for good conduct, valour, and fortitude; and her navy, unequalled in the annals of the world, has afforded the means of protecting her commerce, and securing her possessions in the most distant quarters of

the globe. Previous to the war, the annual expense of the army was about £10,000,000 ; of the navy, £7,000,000.

504. The British army in times of peace numbers about 130,000 men. Of these, about a fifth are usually employed in the East Indies, while the rest are stationed in the various colonies and in the United Kingdom. Besides the royal troops serving in India, there is an army of about 260,000 men, mostly natives, maintained by the East India Company. The royal navy consists, at present, of upwards of 600 vessels, great and small, including steam-ships, manned by 60,000 men, and carrying about 16,000 guns. Nearly 90 of these vessels carry upwards of 70 guns, the highest having 131. Steam-ships are fast superseding sailing-ships ; the steam-force of the British navy was stated in 1854 at upwards of 50,000 horse-power.

505. A distinguishing feature of the British army and navy, is the care taken of the men. Few nations so generously as Britain clothe, feed, and pay their soldiers and sailors ; such cases as the privations of the Crimea are exceptional and temporary.

DISPENSATION OF LAWS.

506. Justice, civil and criminal, is administered in England and Ireland according to laws and forms which took their rise in the former country, and were in time extended to the latter. The English law, as it is comprehensively termed, is of two kinds—written or *statute* law, consisting of the laws established by acts of Parliament ; and *consuetudinary* law, consisting of customs which have existed from time immemorial, and have received the sanction of the judges. Consuetudinary law is again divided into common law and equity—the former is administered by courts which profess to adhere strictly to the old laws of England, except in so far as they are altered by statute ; the latter was founded upon the principle that the king, in cases of hardship, was entitled to give relief from the strictness of the common law. Equity, though thus originated, has now become also a fixed kind of law, and is administered in courts which decide according to established rules.

507. The principal court for civil suits is the Court of

Common Pleas. The Court of King's (or Queen's) Bench, which was at first only a criminal tribunal, and the Court of Exchequer, which was designed only to decide in cases concerning the revenue, have become civil courts by means of fictions in their respective modes of procedure. The Court of Chancery, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, administers the law of equity. Courts under these designations sit both in Westminster and in Dublin. there are also courts of assize, which, in England, perform six provincial circuits, in some instances once, and in others twice a year. Minor cases, criminal as well as civil, are judged by bodies of provincial magistracy, who meet in every county once every quarter of a year. Besides the civil and criminal tribunals, there are Ecclesiastical Courts, which have jurisdiction in matters connected with marriages, wills, and all matters of social polity, and adopt the principles of the old canon law. There are also Courts of Admiralty, which decide questions between persons of different nations, according to the code of civil law recognised throughout Europe.

508. Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and other small islands in the British Channel, which politically belong to the United Kingdom, possess a variety of peculiar privileges and legal usages. The Isle of Man, situated in the Irish Sea, likewise possesses certain peculiar privileges.

509. In Scotland, laws peculiar to itself, founded in part upon the principles of the Roman and the Feudal law, are administered by a supreme civil tribunal, denominated the Court of Session, which remains fixed at Edinburgh, and by a criminal tribunal, named the Court of Justiciary, which not only sits in the same city, but makes circuits through the districts. Minor civil and criminal cases are also judged in Scotland by the sheriffs of the various counties, the justices of the peace, and the magistrates of boroughs.

510. Scotland possesses the advantage of public prosecution of offences, the injured party being only a complainer to the public prosecutor. The chief public prosecutor is the Lord Advocate: the inferior public prosecutors, in connexion with the various minor courts, are termed procurators-

Mechanics' Institutions, through the agency of public lectures.

517. Ireland possesses six collegiate establishments, in which the higher departments of science and literature are taught—namely, Trinity College, Dublin; the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth; and three provincial Queen's Colleges, with their common central University, erected under a recent act of Parliament, unrestricted by religious tests, and open to students of every denomination. The elementary schools consist chiefly of those superintended by government commissioners, and supported by parliamentary grants.

518. The chief educational establishments in Scotland are—the universities of St Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, open to students of all denominations; the recent and minor colleges connected with the Episcopalian, Catholic, and Free churches, a number of academies and grammar-schools established in the cities and boroughs; several excellent institutions endowed by private bequests; and the elementary schools which have long been established in every parish. These parish schools are considered an important feature in the system of public instruction in Scotland.

HISTORY OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE OF BRITAIN.

519. Britain possesses upwards of thirty dependencies in different parts of the world, which it acquired by virtue of discovery or conquest. The dependencies are of two kinds—military establishments, useful for the concentration of naval forces, such as Gibraltar, Heligoland, Bermuda, and St Helena; and colonial possessions, valuable for trade and the reception of emigrant settlers, but still more important as the means of extending the English language, arts, and civilised usages. The chief colonies are geographically connected with America and the West Indies, and with Australasia.

520. *America and the West Indies.*—The Spaniards and Portuguese were the first European nations that colonised the New World, and, when the native Indians perished

before them, imported negroes from Africa to perform the agricultural labour as slaves. The English were not slow to follow in their steps. Sir Walter Raleigh formed a settlement in North America about the year 1607, and called it Virginia, in honour of Queen Elizabeth. Two companies of merchants enlarged the British territory, part of which received the name of New England; and, subsequently, numerous bands of religious and political refugees sought a home on its shores; but, as has already been mentioned, when these colonies rose in wealth and strength, they found themselves in a position to maintain their independence of the mother-country, and before the close of the last century, achieved that independence; so that they are now no longer known to us as our colonies, but as the independent republic of the United States of America.

521. The settlements in the West Indian Islands began to flourish in the first half of the seventeenth century, when factories were established by private companies in Barbadoes and St Christopher's, and the culture of the sugarcane, transplanted from Brazil, was found to succeed. During the Protectorate of Cromwell, Jamaica was conquered from Spain, and opened a new source of wealth. Trinidad; the smaller islands; the district of Honduras or Belize, on the adjacent coast of North America; and Guiana, in South America, have been acquired at various periods since, and chiefly by conquest from Spain, Holland, and France. All these territories are together denominated the British West Indies. They are the oldest of our existing colonies, and are rich in every tropical product, yielding sugar, coffee, tobacco, cotton, cabinet timber, spices, fruits, drugs, and dye-stuffs. Jamaica, the largest and most important of the islands, has an area of more than four thousand square miles, with a population of more than four hundred thousand, of which only about thirty-eight thousand are whites, the majority being negroes, most of whom were originally slave labourers. Trinidad, St Lucia, Dominica, Barbadoes, and the other islands belonging to Britain, may contain an aggregate area of three thousand five hundred square miles, with a population of about four hundred and sixty thousand, of which the greater

proportion are negroes and creoles. Belize is comparatively a small territory; but Guiana has an area of sixty-seven thousand square miles, with a population of more than one hundred thousand.

522. Since the abolition of slavery by the British government, the want of labourers has been severely felt, the coloured population being generally disinclined to hired labour, and the work to be done being unsuitable to European constitutions. These colonies are, therefore, somewhat on the decline.

523. Since the independence of the North American states in 1776, the British possessions in that continent have been wholly in the northern section, embracing the province of *Canada*, the colonies of *Nova Scotia*, *Cape Breton*, *Prince Edward's Island*, *New Brunswick*, and *Newfoundland*; and the vast region stretching to the Arctic Ocean, at present occupied by savage tribes and the trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company. The whole population amounts to nearly three millions.

524. Canada was colonised during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the French, who held it under military rule, and waged frequent and sanguinary war with the native tribes. Quebec, the capital, was taken by the English under General Wolfe, in 1759, and the whole province was ceded to Britain in 1763. An act of the British legislature in 1791, divided Canada into Upper and Lower, gave each province a representative assembly; and in Lower Canada, with a view to conciliating the inhabitants, established their old system of French law, the French language, and the Roman Catholic form of religion. This arrangement, unfortunately, kept up a broad and inconvenient line of demarcation between the more recent English immigrants and their descendants, and feelings of antipathy were the result.

525. In Upper or Western Canada, there were other causes of discontent; so that while the face of the country was rapidly improving by accessions of industrious colonists, chiefly from Scotland, its political condition was disturbed and unsatisfactory. In consequence of the discontent that prevailed, and the alleged difficulty of obtaining a redress of

grievances, a rebellion broke out in 1837. This outburst was soon suppressed, however, and with a view to preserve the future tranquillity of the colony, the two legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada were merged in one constitutional government, consisting of a governor-general, as the representative of the sovereign, a legislative council appointed by the crown; and an assembly of members chosen by the people. Canada, thus united, and left by the mother country to the management of its own affairs, is now in a contented and flourishing condition. Greatly cleared and improved, the country produces vast quantities of wheat, Indian corn, rye, and other kinds of grain, tobacco, and potatoes; it now possesses the finest breeds of cattle, and yields a large and profitable dairy produce. From the thickly wooded valley of the Ottawa, are cut and exported vast quantities of timber to Great Britain. Latterly, railways have been extended on a great scale through the province; and the social condition has been improved by the establishment of an effectual system of education.

526. The principal cities in Lower Canada are Quebec and Montreal. Quebec is the more interesting from historical circumstances, and also from its picturesque situation on a rocky height overlooking the St Lawrence. Montreal, situated 180 miles above Quebec, on the St Lawrence, is now a large and beautiful city, growing daily in importance. In both cities and the surrounding country, the French language is still prevalent. In Upper Canada, the principal cities are Toronto, Kingston, Hamilton, and London. Toronto occupies a beautiful situation on the north shore of Lake Ontario; it is built with much regularity, and has many fine buildings. The government and legislature of the province are located at Quebec and Toronto, for a certain length of time, alternately. In Upper or Western Canada, the English language is universal, and in this division of the united province there prevails the greatest spirit of enterprise and improvement. To Upper Canada, a large number of emigrants from the United Kingdom proceed annually, carrying with them the energy and love of liberty of the Anglo-Saxon race, and increasing the population of the colony.

In 1852, the population of the united province was 1,843,490.

527. The regions north of Canada have continued in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was incorporated by charter from Charles II. in 1669, and which enjoys a monopoly both of the trade and government of a dreary country, traversed by few except the Esquimaux, who hunt the wild animals, and the servants of the Company, consisting of about 1000 Europeans and their offspring, who collect the hides and furs for exportation.

528. Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and the other territories adjoining, were, like Canada, acquisitions from the French during the last century. The government was long administered by British officers, but representative assemblies have been more recently granted. Fish and timber are here the staple commodities. Halifax, in Nova Scotia, is the principal British port in America, and occupies a pleasant situation on the shore of a noble harbour. It is a handsome town, though its houses are constructed mostly of wood; its dock-yard, covering many acres, is the finest in the British colonies.

529. *East Indies*.—India is not, strictly speaking, a colony, it is a great military possession under the immediate government of the East India Company, who retain it for purposes of revenue and trade. The crown, however, exercises a certain control over the affairs of India; and from time to time gives the Company a charter which defines its privileges and authority.

530. The rise of the British power in India is reckoned one of the most surprising things in history. It originated in a charter granted in 1600 by Queen Elizabeth to a body of English merchants, since known as the East India Company. In 1611, they received permission from the native government at Delhi to establish factories at Surat, and other spots in Western Hindostan. About the middle of the seventeenth century, a settlement was formed at Madras; and by the marriage of Charles II. with a princess of Portugal, the valuable position of Bombay was also obtained. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the French influence in India was considerable, and their

settlements superior to the English; but from about the year 1750, when the forces of the two nations came into collision, the French gradually gave way, while our territories rapidly extended; and a succession of conquests, almost forced upon us, placed one district of India after another in our power.

531. The fortress of Calcutta, erected in 1699, increased in importance so rapidly as to excite the jealousy of the native sovereigns, one of whom suddenly invested and took it in 1756; but it was speedily retaken, and new territories acquired. The French power in India was finally destroyed in 1761, by the reduction of Pondicherry. A few years afterwards, the Mogul conferred on the East India Company the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, recognising their sovereignty over certain districts in which their arms had prevailed. They were now virtually the rulers of the Carnatic, and the Nizam had granted them the Northern Circars on condition of protection.

532. In 1773, it was deemed proper to place a check on the rapidly increasing power of the Company, by the appointment of a governor-general on behalf of the Crown. At a later period, a council and a Board of Control were added. In 1780, Hyder Ali, the sultan of Mysore, suddenly burst into the Carnatic with an overwhelming force, and ravaged all before him. The war, which was continued with various success under his son, Tippoo Saib, terminated at length in the capture of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo, whose kingdom became the spoil of the English. Early in the present century, the jealousy of some of the Mahratta rulers led to another war of conquest, which gave the victors extensive territories in Central India, including Delhi, the Mogul capital, and Agra, with the custody of the Mogul emperor. A war provoked by the Burmese government in 1826, added Assam and other provinces east of the Bay of Bengal to British India. During the war with Afghanistan, which lasted from 1839 till 1842, it was felt to be very desirable for the British to command the navigation of the Indus; this led to the conquest of Scinde by Sir Charles Napier in 1843, and its annexation to the British dominions. In the adjacent

kingdom of the Punjab, a contention among the Sikh chiefs for the vacant throne led to anarchy and aggressions, which provoked a collision with the English forces in 1845. After a series of severe and bloody conflicts, the Sikhs were totally defeated, and (1849) the Punjab became part of British India. A fresh quarrel with the Burmese government led to a similar result with regard to the province of Pegu, which was annexed in 1852.

533. The present extent of the British possessions in India is stated at upwards of 800,000 square miles, with a population of more than 100 millions; besides which, most of the native states are more or less dependent on the Company. The Company's exclusive right of trading to India was abolished at the expiration of their charter in 1833; but under their present charter, they still enjoy the revenue and hold the patronage of appointments, subject to considerable control from the British government. The revenue, which amounts to about millions sterling, is almost wholly derived from assessments on the land; and though these are so high as to bear hard on the cultivators of the soil, yet the condition of the people is said to be much better than it was under the unsteady governments of their native princes. The army, which is maintained by the Company, is composed partly of British troops, and partly of native sepoys with British officers.

534. Besides the above, a very large portion of Hindostan is under the protection, though not the direct government, of the Company. The island of *Ceylon*, situated off the southern promontory of Hindostan, and containing an area of 24,664 square miles, with a population of nearly a million and a half, is now one of the most valuable of British possessions. It received European colonists first from Portugal in 1520. They were superseded by the Dutch in the seventeenth century, and these and the French settlers by the English towards the close of the eighteenth. Finally, in 1815, the British government, at the invitation of the native chiefs, assumed the sovereignty of the whole island. It is a free colony, not connected with the East India Company, but administered by officers of the British crown. It is celebrated for its

extensive cinnamon and coffee plantations, and its valuable pearl fishery. The revenue is about £400,000.

535. The whole of these territories lying in or near Hindostan, are known by the common appellation of *East Indies*, and from their geographical position, yield every species of tropical produce, as sugar, coffee, tea, rice, silk, cotton, hardwoods, ivory, spices, fruits, drugs, dye-stuffs, and other similar commodities. Goods to the value of more than eight millions sterling are annually exported from Britain to the East Indies; while goods to the value of more than fourteen millions are imported from the East Indies to Britain.

536. In *Australasia*, the British settlements are those of New South Wales, of which that of Sydney, on the south shore of Port Jackson, was established in 1788; Western Australia or Swan River, of which the capital is Perth, in 1829, South Australia, of which Adelaide is the capital; and Port Phillip, or Victoria, of which Melbourne is the capital, established in 1837. North Australia was colonised in 1838; Australind, on the western coast, about eighty miles south of Swan River, was settled in 1841. The colonisation of this part of the world began by the practice of depositing criminals on the coasts of Australia, after the American war of independence put a stop to their being transported to the plantations of the New World. One spot, from the profusion of flowers found on it, called Botany Bay, was long used as a penal settlement, and thus the town of Port Jackson or Sydney had its origin. But the advantages of the place tempted free emigrants to settle in it, and Van Diemen's Land became the penal settlement instead of New South Wales. Many of the inhabitants of Sydney removed to other parts of the coast, and were joined by new emigrants. Thus arose the settlement of Port Phillip, at the southern extremity; of Swan River, far to the west; and Adelaide, with many smaller ones between them. Still more recently, Port Essington became the nucleus of settlements in the north, but they have not succeeded like the rest. The staple productions were for long the wool, tallow, and hides of the numerous flocks of sheep fed on the natural pasture. But the recent discovery of gold has greatly changed the aspect

of affairs. The adjacent island of *Van Diemen's Land* (which contains 24,000 square miles, or somewhat less than Ireland) is the seat of another British colony, planted in 1824, and is altogether a thriving settlement—being more hilly and better watered than Australia. Its principal towns are Hobart-Town, the capital, and Launceston. *New Zealand*, composed of three contiguous islands, ranging from 1100 miles in length, with a breadth varying from 5 to 200, is also the seat of a British colony; and if its internal management were once fairly adjusted, it would probably rise to first-rate importance. Two centuries have passed since these islands were first discovered by the Dutch, but little was known of the natives till the voyages of Captain Cook. They were fierce, warlike, cannibal tribes, whom Europeans cared not to meddle with. In 1837, however, a New Zealand Company was formed, and land bought from the chiefs. The mother-country has since provided means of protection and government for the colonists.

537. *Africa*—At the *Cape of Good Hope*, *Sierra Leone*, *Cape Coast*, and other parts of Africa, Britain possesses upwards of 200,000 square miles, with a population of 100,000. Cape Colony, taken from the Dutch in 1806, has been a thriving settlement, and the recent colony at Port Natal gave high promise, but a recent war with the Caffres has been productive of much injury. The *Mauritius*, and some minor islands in the Indian Ocean; and the rocky islets of *St Helena* and *Ascension*, in the Atlantic, used chiefly as victualling stations, complete the sum of British possessions connected with Africa. Their principal products are ivory, gold, hides, horns, sugar, coffee, palm-oil, teak-wood, aloes, and articles of minor importance.

538. *Minor Colonies*.—Other less extensive colonies and dependencies of Great Britain are the *Ionian Islands*, the isles of *Malta* and *Gozzo*, and the town and fortress of *Gibraltar*, in the Mediterranean; the islet of *Heligoland*, in the German Ocean; the peninsula of *Aden*, on the south coast of Arabia; the islet of *Hong-Kong*, at the mouth of the Canton River, in China; *Labuan*, off the coast of Borneo; and the *Falkland Islands*, in the South Atlantic.

539. *Colonial Government and Laws.*—The laws and judicial usages of England are extended to the chief colonial possessions, along with all the rights and privileges which are common to British subjects. Hence the inhabitants of the most distant part of the empire, whatever be their origin, rank, or colour, are entitled by the constitution to enjoy the same degree of civil and religious liberty, and the same careful protection of life and property, as their fellow-subjects in the mother-country. This is an invaluable boon, for in no nation do the people practically enjoy greater rational liberty of speech or action, and in none is the press more free. In India, the natives are subject to their own laws, and in this privilege they are carefully protected by the British authorities. Uninterrupted, likewise, in the exercise of their own peculiar religious usages, sheltered from the oppression of native chiefs, and instructed at schools which have been recently planted amongst them, the inhabitants of India are really more happy and prosperous under a foreign rule than they were under the dominion of the former sovereigns of the country.

540. *Colonial Religion.*—According to the constitution, wherever Britain establishes her civil authority, there also is established the Protestant Episcopalian form of church government and worship, except in cases where provision to the contrary has been made by terms of capitulation. Practically, however, there is perfect freedom in the exercise of religious belief and worship in all parts of the empire. In Lower Canada and Malta, Roman Catholicism; in Hindostan, Brahminism and Mohammedanism; and in Ceylon, the religion of Buddha, prevail. The Protestant Presbyterian form of church government and worship, similar to that of Scotland, predominates in the Cape of Good Hope, according to agreement with the former Dutch occupants. In all the colonial possessions, much is done by means of missionaries, to introduce a knowledge of Christianity among the natives.

541. *Diffusion of the English Language.*—The English language now predominates over the whole United Kingdom, with the exception of a portion of the Highlands of

Scotland, part of Ireland, part of the Isle of Man, and Wales ; but in all these places it is gradually superseding the native Celtic dialects. It has been extended, by means of numerous dependencies abroad, over nearly the whole of North America and the West India Islands ; also the Australian continent and islands, the Cape of Good Hope, part of Hindostan and Ceylon, and various other places, including several islands in the Pacific. This diffusion of the English tongue, and with it the Christian religion, as well as English literature and habits of thought, over so large a portion of the earth's surface, is perhaps the most extraordinary fact connected with the history of modern civilisation.

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